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R3B 1N3

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HOW TO USE T.D.D.

MAKING A TELEPHONE CALL

Here are some steps to follow when you use your T.D.D. to make a telephone call.

1. Put phone receiver in correct place.

2. Turn the T.D.D. on and check the monitor light on your T.D.D. to be sure you have a dial tone. The dial tone will make a steady light on your monitor.

3. Dial the number.

4. The monitor light will give you a signal.
   e.g. - ringing signal --→ long slow flash or 2 short flashes with a pause.

   - busy signal --→ short continuous flashes, if this happens, try to call again later.

5. Sometimes you may call a phone number that is used for voice calls too. Sometimes a hearing person will place the receiver to his/her ear before putting on the T.D.D. How do you know?
   e.g. - noise will be made when a deaf person uses the space bar to give you a clue that it is the T.D.D.

   For a deaf person: e.g. - if voice used wait a few seconds for hearing person to put receiver on T.D.D.

6. If your call is not answered by another T.D.D. it may mean several things. e.g. - may be you have dialed the wrong number by mistake or to make it easier - you can listen to the receiver first for signal before putting the receiver on the T.D.D.

RECEIVING A TELEPHONE CALL

1. Pick up receiver, put on T.D.D.

2. Turn T.D.D. on.

3. The person who answers the phone is the first to type. Type your name and say "hello". Then type "GA".

4. If your T.D.D. is also used for voice calls, be sure the persons who answers the phone by voice knows how to recognize and answer a T.D.D. call.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. Identify yourself immediately when making or receiving T.D.D. calls. It is important and polite to do this.

2. Remember that T.D.D. calls take longer than voice calls, especially when you make a business call or long distance call. Prepare what you plan to say and have any information handy that you may need during the call.

3. After you finish a call, turn off your T.D.D. and hang up the receiver.

4. T.D.D. Codes:

   "GA" means "go ahead" This is the signal to the other person to begin typing.

   "HD" means "hold" This is the signal that the person typing must stop for a minute but he/she will be back.

   "SK" means "signing off" This is how you show that you will hang up, that you have nothing more to say. It is polite to type "bye", "thanks". Some times you will see "GA to SK", it indicates to make sure you have something to say before "SK".

Check your T.D.D. manuals for instructions.

USING A SIGN LANGUAGE INTERPRETER -DO'S AND DON'T'S
FOR THE HEARING PERSON

DO . . . .

SPEAK DIRECTLY TO THE DEAF PERSON. He is your client. Say "My name is . . " not "Tell him my name is . . " It helps the interpreter if you speak in the first person.

ALLOW THE INTERPRETER TO SIT CLOSE TO YOU SO THE DEAF PERSON CAN SEE YOU AND THE INTERPRETER AT THE SAME TIME. This way the deaf person can see you while watching the interpreter signing. Also the deaf person can watch your expressions, an important form of communication.

LOOK AT THE DEAF PERSON, NOT AT THE INTERPRETER. When you are talking, look directly at the deaf person. The interpreter will sign what you are saying. It is important that you watch the deaf person's expressions in response to your statements and questions. This will assist in communication.

SPEAK AT A NORMAL RATE OF SPEED. This helps the interpreter and the deaf person. Do not speak too slowly as it makes if difficult for the interpreter to provide a smooth interpretation of what you are saying.

MAKE YOUR STATEMENTS CLEAR. The average deaf person reads at or below the fifth grade reading level. Your ideas should be as basic as possible.

AVOID USING ENGLISH IDIOMS, such as "That's a horse of a different color". Deaf persons are generally unfamiliar with English idioms; they have their own sign language idioms.

DON'T . . . .

SAY THINGS TO THE INTERPRETER THAT YOU DON'T WANT REPEATED TO THE DEAF PERSON. The interpreter is there to relay messages back and forth. If you vent your feelings to the interpreter, he is obligated to interpret what you have said.

ASK THE INTERPRETER FOR HIS OPINIONS ABOUT THE DEAF PERSON. The interpreter is not in a position to make judgements about the deaf person. He is there simply to communicate information between you and the deaf person.

TAKE PHONE CALLS. Deaf people may think you are talking about them when you talk on the phone in their presence. If it is at all possible, you should refrain from accepting phone calls while working with deaf clients.

EXPECT THE INTERPRETER TO DO ANYTHING EXCEPT RELAY INFORMATION BETWEEN YOU AND THE DEAF PERSON. The interpreter should not be expected to remind the deaf person about upcoming appointments, take notes, act as a chauffeur, or work in any other capacity except that of transmitting messages between you and the deaf person.

HOLD PERSONAL CONVERSATIONS WITH THE INTERPRETER. The interpreter is there only to interpret the conversation. Please direct all conversation to the deaf person who is your client.

WHY AMERICAN SIGN LANGUAGE (ASL) IS THE NATIVE LANGUAGE OF DEAF PEOPLE

For most deaf, ASL is their native language. That is to say, it is the language in which they feel most comfortable and fluent. For most deaf people, English is their second language. Only a small group, perhaps about 10 percent, become completely fluent in English. This is no reflection on their intelligence, ambition, or education, but rather on the tremendous impact that deafness has on English acquisition.

TOTALLY VISUAL SYSTEM IS EASIER TO LEARN

ASL is far easier for a deaf child to master than English or the signed English systems, probably because it is a totally visual language. The signed English systems, though they are presented via a visual medium are, nevertheless, representations of English, which is based on sound.

ASL - A RICH LANGUAGE

ASL is a full, expressive, and beautiful language. Critics of ASL contend that it does not have enough signs to cover all the words in the English language, but they overlook the fact that a sign stands for a concept, not an English word. On the other hand, ASL has signs that cannot be directly translated into English words. But no one would consider calling English an "impoverished" language based on this fact! Languages have different ways of expressing a concept; the expression of a concept is influenced by cultural values. It is true that there are many concepts for which there are no signs, but these particular concepts do not play an important part in the everyday life of deaf people. Take, for instance, the concept atom. ASL has no sign for atom because most deaf people simply do not need it. The concept arises so infrequently in their lives that they do not bother to invent a sign for it; instead, they fingerspell it. In a college class in physics, however, the concept atom is likely to arise frequently; consequently, a sign for it will probably be coined. In short, ASL can be expanded to accomodate whatever conditions a situation presents.

RESPECT FOR ASL

It is important that a deaf child learn early in life that a language exists uniquely his own -- a language of which he can be proud. Deaf children generally develop very poor images of themselves. One major way to correct this is to show respect for their language. If hearing people give it its proper regard, the deaf child's self esteem will rise. If he is encouraged to excel in it, then he will be more sympathetic toward and eager to acquire English. To deny the deaf child his own language too often fosters a negative attitude toward learning English.

Adapted from:
"ASL and Siglish: The Various Forms of Sign Language," by Lou Fant, in Deafness in Infancy and Early Childhood by Dr. Peter Fine.

SIGNED ENGLISH

The education system for the deaf underwent a major change in the early 1970's; in many institutions, oral-aural communication was replaced by total communication training. Initially an educational philosophy, total communication combines listening, speaking, and speech reading with manual communication. Stewart notes that "it is not coincidence that total communication became accepted shortly after recognition was given to sign language as being a language in its own right" (1982:140). As manual communication became recognized as an appropriate medium for education, various researchers attempted to devise artificial sign systems that would better represent English. These systems are intended to address deaf children's problems with syntax "on the assumption that signing English would be more effective in teaching written English syntax than signing ASL" (Wilbur, 1979:203). Although many such systems exist (Seeing Essential English, Linguistics of Visual English, Manual English), most Canadian schools for the deaf use the Signing Exact English system (Gustason, Pfezing, and Zowolkow, 1972) because of its prevalent use in Canadian residential schools for the Deaf.

The Signing Exact English (SEE2) manual includes 2100 words and 70 affixes, with 7 contractions. Words are divided into basic words, complex words, and compound words. A two-out-of-three principle is used for choosing signs: the same sign is used for two English words if the two words are alike in two of three features -- pronunciation, spelling, and meaning. This principle is not followed for inflected base forms, i.e. the signs for 'see' and 'saw' are not the same sign. SEE2 attempts to parallel English through invented signs for verb inflections (verb tense) and affixes; it uses the same ending over a variety of signs, i.e. 'lessen' is created from 'less" with an 'EN suffix. Pronouns, possessives, and possessive pronouns are, for the most part, represented by arbitrarily devised sings. ASL signs are used only if they are clear, unambiguous, and can be translated into one English word. Synonyms are identified by initializing the basic ASL sign, i.e. the sign for 'glad' is produced by replacing the handshape of

the ASL sign, i.e. the sign 'happy' with a 'g' handshape. The invented signs of SEE2 often break the rules for ASL sign production (Wilbur,1979). ASL is a visual language that depends on movement, space, and non-manual behaviours to express a concept, but SEE2 is a system for representing English visually.

Most deaf children are exposed to SEE2 within the education system, but recently parent intervention programs stress the importance of the parent's use of manual communication with the deaf child at an early age. Because of the role of SEE2 within the total communication philosophy, SEE2 is almost always presented with accompanying English speech -- this form of communication is called simultaneous communication. Many researchers have questioned whether or not a sign system, such as SEE2, can adequately represent the complexities of the English language (Cokely, 1980; Kluwin, 1981; Maxwell, 1983). As well, the use of SEE2 is interesting for a number of reasons: SEE2, because it is an invented system, is not the native language of any of its users -- teachers of the deaf, hearing parents, or deaf people. The use of SEE2 is highly restricted to classroom settings and conversations with parents or professionals trained in the system. Very rarely is SEE2 used in the deaf peer interaction or in interactions with the Deaf community, because the Deaf community places great importance on the use of ASL and relatively little importance on the use of speech, with which SEE2 is symbolically, if not overtly, aligned.

Researchers have consistently pointed out that artificially contrived sign systems, like SEE2, are not "languages" in the proper sense of the term, and that these systems cannot adequately represent spoken English (Cokely, 1983; Kluwin, 1981; Stewart, 1983). A deaf student's ability to master a sign system depends entirely on his/her previous knowledge of the English language. This fact, when coupled with research that shows teachers have a very hard time using the SEE2 consistently, does not support the notion that deaf children are able to learn English effectively through the use of SEE2.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE LANGUAGE OF SIGNS

The antecedents of the modern language of signs are buried in the mists of antiquity, but one thing is clear: from earliest recorded history, it is known that gestures (or signs) have been employed for communication between groups of people of dissimilar languages and cultures throughout the ages up to and including the present. Gesture language, therefore, is one of the oldest -- if not the oldest -- means of communication between human beings.

It stands to reason that some form of rudimentary gesture language must surely have been used by people in antiquity in communicating with deaf people, but the idea that a gesture language could be developed to the point where it could be used as a formal method of communicating does not seem to have occurred to anyone until the sixteenth century. Part of the reason for this appears to be the generally accepted theory that deaf people were uneducatable. They were thought to be incapable of reasoning, of having ideas or opinions, and in some cultures, they were considered to be possessed of the devil, or in the bad graces of the gods. They were, therefore, figures of fun, scorned, reviled -- or even feared. It would have been a brave person indeed who would consider going against the prevailing public opinion and putting the theory to the test.

In the sixteenth century, however, a brave person emerged in the person of Girolamo Cardano, an Italian physician, who raised his voice to dispute the theory that deaf people were uneducatable. Cardano held that the hearing of words was not necessary for the understanding of ideas, and devised a code for teaching deaf people which, unfortunately, was never put into use. However, his words fell on fertile ground, and, although slow to germinate, eventually began sprouting, and paving the way for dispelling the attitude that deaf people were incapable of learning.

It was in Spain that the first successful attempts to educate deaf individuals were made. A Spanish monk, Pedro Ponce de Leon, succeeded in educating the deaf children of several noble Spanish families so that they could be declared legally qualified to inherit the estates of their families. Spanish law at that time was such that a person, in order to inherit property, had to be literate -- to be able to read and write -- and de Leon succeeded in providing his deaf pupils with these skills. The theory that deaf people were uneducatable, therefore, was disproved.

It is interesting to note, also, that de Leon apparently was able to teach his pupils to speak in addition to teaching them to read and write. Presumably he was also able to teach them to read lips in the process of teaching them to speak, but these skills apparently were interesting ancilliary benefits obtained by the deaf children after the good monk had accomplished the main task required of him by his noble employers -- that of teaching their deaf heirs to read and write so that they could inherit the family estates.

Some time later, Juan Martin Pablo Bonet developed the one-handed manual alphabet, which has descended almost unchanged to that used today. Bonet also wrote a book on education of deaf people, in which both the manual alphabet and some signs were advocated as the method whereby the tutor could communicate with his pupils while providing them with an education.

While individuals like de Leon and Bonet were pioneers in the sense that they proved that deaf persons could be educated, and that a formal gesture language could be employed for the purpose of communicating with deaf people in the process of educating them, their success was limited to a few select individuals to whom they acted as tutors. Education of deaf people, therefore, was restricted to the very rich, or those of royal blood, for only they could afford private tutors for their deaf children. It was in France and Germany that public education of deaf children began. It was also in those two countries that the methods of controversy was born -- the argument over whether deaf children should be taught with or without the employment of the language of signs -- an argument which has persisted to this day.

In France, Abbe Charles de l'Epee founded the first public school for deaf children. In addition to being considered the father of public education for deaf children, Abbe de l'Epee is also regarded as the father of the modern language of signs. Abbe de l'Epee was convinced that sign language was the "natural language" of deaf people, and held that their education should be based on the use of this "natural" language. However, the language of signs as used by deaf people of that day was rudimentary, and Abbe recognized that the crude signs employed by deaf people of the time were too limited for use as tools in an educational program. He, therefore, attempted to develop and refine the existing language of signs into a full language which could be more

affectively used in educating deaf people. The language of signs used today has been derived in large part from that developed by Abbe de l'Epee, although it has undergone considerable refinement in the years since the good Abbe first put it into use.

Samuel Heinicke was Germany's counterpart of France's Abbe de l'Epee. Heinicke, however, shared only two of the Abbe's convictions -- his belief that deaf people were educatable and that they could be educated in public education programs. In contrast to de l'Epee, however, Heinicke believed that deaf people could be educated through speechreading alone. He, therefore, was the forerunner of modern-day advocates of the so-called oral method of instruction (called the German method in Heinicke's day and for some time afterward). Heinicke's philosophy still forms the basic foundation for the belief in the oral method, although his methods of teaching have also undergone many changes and refinements over the years.

Education of deaf children in the United States can be considered to have begun with the arrival upon the scene of Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet, A minister, Gallaudet, was approached by Dr. Mason Cogswell, whose daughter, Alice, was deaf. Dr. Cogswell had heard that deaf children were successfully being educated in Europe, and wished Gallaudet to journey to England to learn the methods being employed there to teach deaf children such as his little girl. From this request was born the career of a man who was to become one of the most famous educators of the deaf in the world, a man who is responsible for the introduction of the language of signs into the United States.

Gallaudet's plan on departing for England was to study the English methods of instructing deaf children, then to extend his trip into France where he would study the French methods. He planned then to select the best of both methods, and combine them in a comprehensive plan for educating deaf children in America, beginning with little Alice Cogswell.

Unfortunately, when he outlined his plans to the English educators of the deaf, they reacted by refusing him permission to learn their methods unless he agreed to abandon his plan to study the French methods and combine only the best of the two. (It is ironic that this reaction is still common today in the late twentieth century, for there are pockets of blind belief in one method of instruction over all others, and proponents of such methods are apt to be adamant in insisting that their method be used in its entirety, with

no contamination from other methods permitted -- and prospective students who wish to study the method, but will not promise to adhere strictly to that method to the exclusion of all others, often find it difficult to obtain permission to enroll).

After several months of frustrating negotiations with the English experts, an event occurred which caused Gallaudet to give up his plans to study in England. Abbe Sicard, a noted educator of deaf people in France, arrived in England on a lecture tour with two of his most outstanding pupils, one of whom was a young man by the name of Laurent Clerc. Gallaudet attended one of the lectures given by Sicard, and was so impressed by the ability of the two deaf pupils, Clerc in particular, that he immediately abandoned his negotiations with the English and went to Paris to study with Sicard.

At the conclusion of his studies, Gallaudet returned to America, bringing with him Laurent Clerc. Clerc subsequently became the first deaf teacher of the deaf in America, and he helped Gallaudet found the first school for the deaf in this country, and American Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb in Hartford, Conneticut, which subsequently became the American School for the Deaf.

Since the French method of instruction involved the use of the language of signs, Gallaudet brought back with him a knowledge of this form of communication, a skill he and Laurent Clerc taught to others. From this beginning, the language of signs spread rapidly to all corners of the country, and soon was known by nearly every deaf person from one end of the country to the other.

In time, other methods of instructing deaf children came into the country -- those which did not employ the language of signs, and, in fact, forbade its use -- but the langauge of signs was firmly established among deaf people in America. Despite over a hundred years of repeated efforts to eradicate it or to stop its steady spread to each new generation of deaf people -- even to those who are supposedly isolated from such "contamination" by rigid rules deigned to prevent its being learned by deaf children -- only a few deaf adults today fail to acquire the ability to use sign language somewhere along the way, and to make it part and parcel of their communicative lives.

Gallaudet, in bringing the language of signs to our country, released the lid of a Pandora's box of troubles for later oral method advocates, a lid

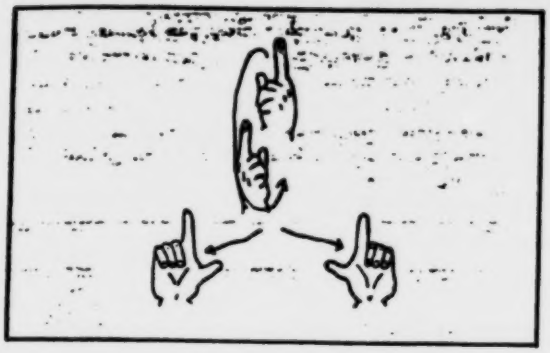
nobody has ever since been able to force shut again. But for deaf people his release of the lid opened up a means of communication with the world around them, and they, themselves, have since developed and refined it until it is today a classical, beautiful, and picturesque language of gesture in which the great majority of deaf people communicate to their thoughts and feelings to each other -- and to those hearing people who have taken the trouble to learn the language of signs.

The language of signs is idiomatic; it incorporates pantomime; it is individualistic -- and sometimes highly confusing to a beginner. But it is always interesting; and a student in the language of signs will find it greatly rewarding as he progresses to better and better communication with his deaf pupils, co-workers, clients, relatives, and friends. Such a student may, if he persists in learning the language of signs with all its subtleties, nuances, and idiosyncracies, eventually become so fluent that he can help his deaf compatriats in one of the most vital ways a hearing person can help deaf people -- by interpreting for deaf people, and opening the door for deaf people to experience at first hand the audible events which go on in the sometimes baffling world of the hearing.

Bibliography source: Quigley, S.P. Historical background, education of the deaf. In Education of the Deaf. A report to the President by the Advisory Committee on Education of the Deaf in the United States. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965.

Article taken from: Manual Communication - fingerspelling and the language of signs. By Barbara E. Babbini, 1974.

Sign Language



Sign language is the natural language of Canada's deaf people and is a true expression of their culture.

MOST PEOPLE take language for granted. From the moment of birth, we are surrounded by the sounds of speech, which we soon distinguish into words and sentences. But for 200,000 deaf people in Canada, spoken language is not so easily learned. Someone who is born profoundly deaf cannot hear the speech of his or her parents, from whom most of us learn to speak. While many deaf people are able to use spoken language and can "speech-read" (lip-read), it isn't an easy method of communication to use because only about 25% of the words in English look different on the lips. Thus most deaf people prefer to use sign language, which uses hand, arm, body and facial movements to express the most complex idea or simplest emotion. This pamphlet is a short introduction to the world of signs. We hope it stimulates your interest. The more you understand about sign language, the closer you come to overcoming the communication barrier between hearing and deaf people.

The body talks

Spoken language is an important aspect of communication, but it is not the only dimension. Communication is a complex process, even between hearing people, who communicate not only through speech, but also with "body language." A glance, a shift in posture, a smile—these can all communicate meaning to another person. This "language of gestures" is one of the oldest means of communication between human beings.

Gestures are common to all people, but sign language takes this form of "visual language" a step further in sophistication. In sign language, gestures do the work of words. The movement of the hands and arms replace the spoken elements of language. Individual gestures are called "signs" and, like words, they are the basic unit of the language: symbols that represent actions, objects, feelings or concepts, much like nouns, verbs and adjectives in spoken language. Combined, individual signs form sentences to express complete thoughts. However, sign language is not simply English expressed with the hands rather than the voice. American Sign Language (ASL) or Ameslan (sometimes called Canadian Sign Language (CSL)), which is used by most deaf Canadians, is a distinct language with its own grammar and syntax. It is a very compact and expressive language which, like most languages, cannot always be directly translated into English. For example, one sign can have different meanings, depending on the context.

Gestures are common to all people, but sign language takes this form of "visual language" a step further in sophistication.

Subtle changes in the shape, location or movements of the hands can entirely change the meaning of a sign.

The sign for "need" can be translated into "it is necessary", "have to", "must", and so on. Alternatively, certain spoken words, such as "right", can be translated into more than one sign, for example, the sign "right" which means the opposite of "wrong" and the sign "right" which means the opposite of "left". As well, the size of the sign and the facial or body expressions accompanying it, provide emphasis, colour and nuance to the language.

Sign language is beautiful. It is expressive and graceful. But contrary to most people's understanding, it is not pantomime. While some signs are direct visual representations of an action or object, many are not. It really is a distinct language. It may interest you to know that a fluent signer can communicate more rapidly than a hearing person using spoken language. He can do this without missing the full range of expression.

Though signs are not necessarily pantomimes of actions, many signs are evocative of the actions or objects they represent. And as said earlier, changes in posture or facial expression add another dimension to the meaning of signs much in the same way as tone of voice can change the emotional meaning behind spoken words. But signs have yet another dimension because human hands are such complex, sensitive and incredibly versatile instruments. They can do everything from heavy physical work to the most delicate tasks. This means subtle changes in the shape, location, or movements of the hands can entirely change the meaning of a sign.

Day

The idea expressed is the sun coming up and going down.

To Learn

The idea expressed in this sign is taking something out of the hand and putting it into the head.

To Think

In these signs the shape of the hand changes the meaning.

To Know

Love

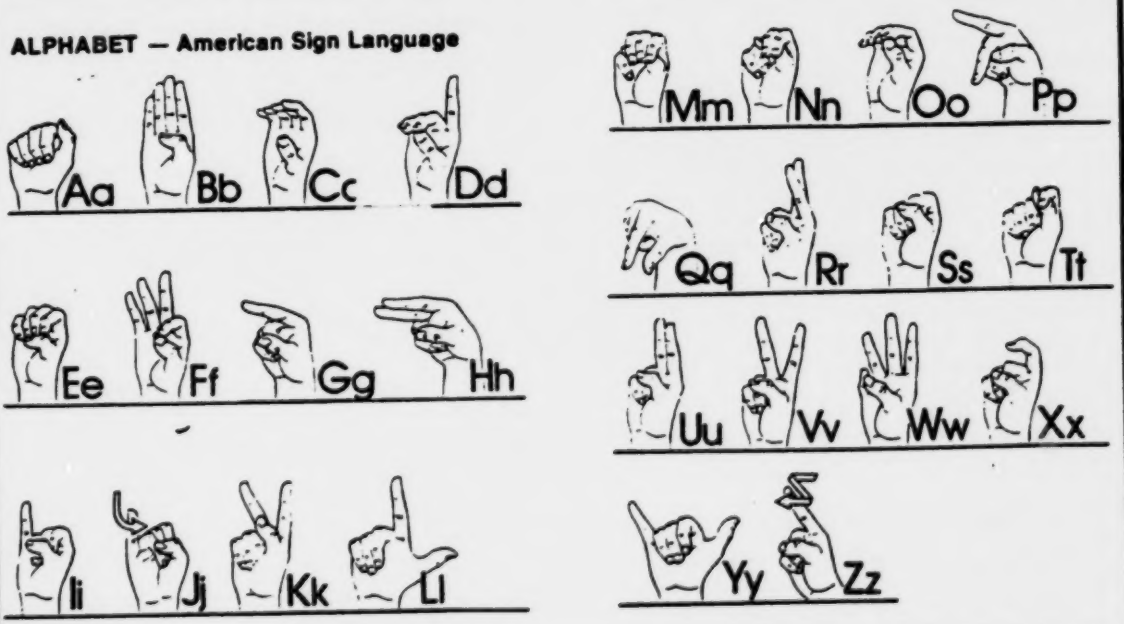
In these signs, handshape remains the same, but motion and location change the meaning.

Work

Fingerspelling

For many English words, especially jargon or technical language, no signs exist to express their precise meaning, so a "manual alphabet" is used to spell out words. This is called fingerspelling. Literally, it is "writing in the air." Because of the prevalence of fingerspelling cards, many people wrongly think that fingerspelling is the same as sign language. It is only one component, though all forms of manual communication make use of fingerspelling to a greater or lesser degree. The same fingerspelling system, like the written alphabet, is not used all around the world. There are international variations—even between countries that share the same spoken language. The North American fingerspelling system uses one hand. In Great Britain, two hands are used. An adapted version of the British two-handed system is used in North America to communicate (by touch) with people who are both deaf and blind. The diagram below shows the North American fingerspelling system.

ALPHABET — American Sign Language



The Development of Sign Language

With the use of increasingly sophisticated sign language, deaf people can communicate as easily and on as broad a range of topics as hearing people. Like any other language, sign language is constantly evolving, changing with the times and reflecting new developments in our culture. Slang signs used by deaf youth are often unrecognized by the older deaf, similar to the language differences between hearing people of different ages. Gallaudet College in Washington, D.C., the only liberal arts college for the deaf in the world, has been responsible for introducing many new signs related to academic subjects.

The basics of sign language were brought to this continent in 1815 by Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet and Laurent Clerc, the first deaf teacher of the deaf in North America. In 1817, Gallaudet set up the first American school for the deaf and used a language of instruction which was a combination of "natural signs" and the sign system originated in France. American Sign Language (ASL), the name of the system which developed from these signs, spread quickly in the United States. It spread to Canada more slowly. The original sign language used in Canada was based on the British system, which is quite different from the American

system. Even today, a few Canadian signs correspond more closely to British signs, and many older deaf people in Atlantic Canada still use British Sign Language.

Like any other language, sign language is constantly evolving, changing with the times and reflecting new developments in our culture.

Because sign language has its own grammatical structure, it is often wrongly considered to be inappropriate for teaching English to deaf children. However, it has been demonstrated that children whose first language is ASL perform in much the same way as do non-English speaking children when they use materials designed to teach English as a second language. When ASL is accepted as a separate language, then using it to teach deaf children English as a second language becomes a vehicle to assist deaf people to become truly bilingual, which means knowing both sign language and English. Knowing both is a prerequisite for an independent life. Sign language is needed for communication within the deaf community, and English (at least in written form) is necessary for full participation in society at large, particularly for employment.

A fluent signer can communicate more rapidly than a hearing person using spoken language.

The great majority of deaf adults choose sign language, usually Ameslan, as their primary language because of its ease of expression. Sign language is therefore the natural language of Canada's deaf people and is a true expression of their culture.

International language

Many people think sign language would be the perfect international language, perhaps because in the past different nations used signs to communicate with each other. For example, native people of North America used a type of sign language to communicate between tribes of different spoken languages.

However, sign language is not a universal language. It differs from country to country and even from community to community. Nevertheless, there are enough similarities that most deaf people from countries with different spoken languages and sign systems manage to communicate with each other. The World Federation of the Deaf has developed an International Sign Language called Gestuno, but at the moment its usage is very limited, just as the international spoken language, Esperanto, is not widely used.

How to learn sign language

Sign language courses are offered in most major centres in Canada. If you would like to find out more about sign language, contact the Canadian Co-ordinating Council on Deafness, a local or regional group of the deaf, or an agency working with the deaf. ■

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FOR MORE INFORMATION, CONTACT:

Local or provincial group

Canadian Co-ordinating Council on Deafness

294 Albert St., Suite 201, Ottawa, Canada, K1P 6E6
Charitable Registration Number 0449595-11-10

The Canadian Co-ordinating Council on Deafness (CCCD) is a private non-profit organization which works to remove the social barriers that can hold a hard of hearing or deaf person back from a good education, employment and an independent life in Canadian society.

The CCCD wishes to thank the Public Service Programs of Gallaudet College for the inspiration and some of the material used in this pamphlet.

Revised 1982

CULTURE/LANGUAGE NOTES

Pointing in ASL

Pointing has an important role in ASL. It is used primariiy to identify people or objects. Hearing people may think pointing at others is rude, or feel uncomfortable at first having to do it themselves.

There are politeness rules governing pointing that differ from hearing culture's rules. Being aware of these will help you use pointing appropriately. For example:

> You can point at someone while s/he is looking at you, but it is important to add an explanation of why you're pointing.
>
> If you are pointing at someone who is not looking at you, you should make the pointing movement discreet.

Pointing is also used to refer to people or things outside of the immediate environment. By paying close attention to the pointing movement, including the use of eye gaze, you will learn to distinguish various kinds of references made by pointing.

CULTURE/LANGUAGE NOTES

Politeness Norms for Describing People

There are different politeness norms in the deaf and hearing communities for the kinds of details to give when identifying another person. In ASL, brief physical descriptions are often an integral part of identifying people; these descriptions may at first seem rude or overly blunt by hearing standards.

The following situation outlines one possible series of details used to describe someone in the immediate environment:

> Signer A asks Signer B if s/he knows who Pam is. Signer B isn't sure. Signer A tries to point her out in the crowd, adding this information: her hair color and style, color and type of clothing, who she is talking to, and her body posture (i.e., sitting or standing, signing or watching another signer).

A description of someone who is not present might include the following details:

> Signer A asks who Joe is. Signer B describes him by his body type, height, any distinctive physical characteristics, his occupation, and his friendship or relationship to people Signer A knows.

CULTURE/LANGUAGE NOTES

Keeping a Clear Sightline

Because visibility is very important with sign language, there are responsibilities and ways to maintain a clear view of signed communication.

The Signer: You should be sure that you are being watched. You should maintain regular eye contact with (without staring at) the people you are signing to, and should be sure that they are comfortable watching you. You may have to shift position to find the best place to sign from.

The Addressee: You should always maintain eye contact with the person who is signing to you. If for some reason--because of glare, for example, or someone is in your way--you have difficulty seeing the signer, you can:

(a) politely ask the signer to move.

(b) politely ask whoever gets in your way to move aside. You must be sure, however, to first ask the signer to stop signing for a few moments while you interrupt to do this. If you can't get the attention of the person who is in your way, ask someone nearby to do so.

Other Addressees: When you are watching a conversation between two people, both should be aware and desirous of your participation. If people interfere with your sightline, you can ask them to move; do not, however, ask the signer to stop signing. You may also move to position yourself more advantageously, but try not to distract the signer by moving too quickly or obviously.

CULTURE/LANGUAGE NOTES

Identifying Non-Present Persons (or Objects or Places)

Two different signs are used in ASL in identifying people, objects, or locations. When the person (or object or place) you are referring to is not present, you should confirm that the person you're signing to knows the referent in question with the sign pictured below, plus the sign or name identifying that person, object, or place. When the person you're signing to indicates (with a nod or confirming question) that s/he does in fact know the referent, you can continue with your comment or question.

If the person (or object or place) is visible in the immediate environment, the following sign is used with a similar series of identification------> description-----> confirmation-----> comment or question.

CULTURE/LANGUAGE NOTES

Identifying Objects

The amount of information given in a description of an object depends on the situation; learning how much and what kinds of information to give in conversation and narrative is an important part of learning how to describe things. When an object is visible, the signer should first ask the addressee if s/he can see it, identifying it by name only. Then:

(a) If the addressee says s/he sees the object, the identification ends and the signer proceeds with the conversation.

(b) If the addressee requires more information, the signer should try to deduce why: Are there other similar objects in the area? Is it difficult to notice against a similar background? and so on. Further description should be based on the object's distinguishing characteristics.

Non-present objects may require more description to identify them, but the signer follows the same pattern described above. Ask first if the addressee knows what the object is; if not, go on to describe only what is needed to identify it.

CULTURE/LANGUAGE NOTES

Sharing Educational Backgrounds

When deaf people meet, they often ask each other about their educational backgrounds, especially what residential schools (if any) they attended. This both establishes ties if there are similarities, which there often are, and leads to the discovery of mutual friends, which is also common. The comment that "The deaf world is a small world!" is often made when deaf strangers are first introduced.

CULTURE/LANGUAGE NOTES

Intermarriage Among Deaf People

A large percentage of marriages that occur between deaf people are the result of long associations at residential schools for the deaf. Deaf people are also likely to meet each other at one of the colleges or college programs for the deaf--Gallaudet, for example--or one of the many deaf-related groups or events, like the local deaf club, national deaf conventions, and so on. However they meet, it is a fact that 90 percent of deaf people marry another deaf person.

Although it may seem logical that marriages between deaf people would result in deaf children, in fact the offspring of most deaf parents are predominantly hearing. Another important fact is that 90 percent of all deaf children have hearing parents; less than 10 percent of all deaf children have one or two deaf parents.

CULTURE/LANGUAGE NOTES

This Culture/Language Note is the first of a series of notes you will be receiving throughout the course to supplement classroom work. These are intended to explain certain language principles and will introduce values and behavior rules or expectations in the Deaf community.

Introduction to ASL and the Deaf Community

ASL is a visual-gestural language. Its units of meaning (movements and shapes of the hands, arms, eyes, face, and head) are formed and combined in such a way as to be most easily perceived by the eyes. Gestures are movements made with the body for the purpose of communication, but, while all signs are gestures (because of the modality used), not all gestures are signs. Signs, unlike gestures, can handle abstract ideas and are not limited to iconicity. Sign language is recognized as a complex language that is governed by linguistic rules not unlike the rules governing spoken languages.

The Deaf community is a group of people who share a common language and common experiences, which provide the basis for group cohesion and identity. At the heart of every community is its language, which embodies the thoughts and experiences of the community members. Much of the folklore, traditions, and art forms in the Deaf community involve creative uses of ASL.

CULTURE/LANGUAGE NOTES

Use of Dominant and Non-Dominant Hand

When people sign, they usually use their dominant hands a lot more than their non-dominant hands. There are three types of signs.

1) One-handed signs: For these signs, use the dominant hand. Examples:

2) Symmetrical signs: These signs use both hands in symmetrical movements and require equal use of both the dominant and non-dominant hands. Examples:

3) One hand dominant over the other: These signs use both hands, but the dominant hand uses the non-dominant hand as a base. Examples:

Only in specific circumstances does a native signer use both hands as dominant, usually for style or emphasis.

Almost all right-handed people use the right hand as dominant while left-handed people sign with the left hand as dominant. Ambidextrous people must choose one hand or the other as the dominant hand and be consistent with its use.

CULTURE/LANGUAGE NOTES

Non-Manual Behaviors in ASL

It is important for sign language students to pay close attention to the non-manual behaviors that deaf people and/or the teacher demonstrate. These behaviors--the use of eye gaze, head movements, and the movements of eyebrows and mouth--have both specific grammatical functions (i.e., distinguishing sentence and question types) and emotive functions (i.e., showing how one feels about what's being communicated.

Beginning sign students need to become comfortable using the face and body movements to express both of these functions.

CULTURE/LANGUAGE NOTES

Fingerspelling in ASL

Fingerspelling is a manual code for spelling out words according to how they are written in English. American Sign Language users use fingerspelling in very specific ways, i.e., for names of people, places, titles and brand names. Fingerspelling is not a substitute for sign language, and we encourage you not to use it as your first alternative for expressing an idea for which you don't know a sign.

Helpful hint: While learning the fingerspelled words in class, it is more important to see the shape and movement pattern of the word than to work on seeing each letter.

CULTURE/LANGUAGE NOTES

How Deaf People Identify Themselves

While hearing aids are one way to identify a hearing loss, not all persons with hearing-impairments wear hearing aids, nor do they always identify as members of the Deaf community.

Some of the ways members of the community identify each other are:

a) by a person's fluency in ASL and daily use of the language

b) through a person's participation in Deaf community functions (i.e., sports and social events)

c) by having a majority of friends who are also community members

d) shared or similar educational experiences

e) shared political interests and awareness of issues affecting the Deaf community.

CULTURE/LANGUAGE NOTES

Getting Attention in the Deaf Community: Do's and Don'ts

DO: Deaf community members are visually oriented. To begin a conversation, you must first make eye contact. If the deaf person is not looking at you, use visual ways to get his/her attention, for example, waving within the person's peripheral vision.

DON'T: When you wave to get the other person's attention, don't wave in his/her face, or make huge waving gestures if you're up close. A small waving movement is sufficient.

DO: Deaf community members are physical, too. If visual ways of getting someone's attention don't work, tap the person's shoulder.

DON'T: When you touch the person's body to get attention, don't tap just once or too many times, just a few times and gently but firmly. Shoulders are the safest place to touch. Sometimes in intimate situations, tapping the knee or thigh is permissable. Don't touch the person's body if you are within his/her peripheral vision or if the person is looking at you.

DO'S AND DONT'S AND I'LL BE DOGGONEDS OF THE LANGUAGE OF SIGNS

There are certain rules that one should observe in communicating with deaf persons in the language of signs. Some of them are obvious, such as making sure you are facing the deaf person and he is looking at you before you start signing. Other rules are not so obvious. For example, a deaf person must look directly at you when you are talking with him, whatever means of communications is used; but are you aware that you should look at him too? Of course, if he is using the language of signs without voice, you will certainly have to look at him. But -- and here is the sticker -- some deaf people use both signs and speech at the same time, and if a person is listening to the deaf person's speech and understanding what he is saying, and turns his head, then the deaf person thinks he has lost his audience. Common courtesy dictates that a person keep his eyes on the deaf person until he is finished what he is saying, regardless of whether he is saying it orally, manually, or in combination of the two methods.

Another concern is your attitude. "Don't talk down to deaf people." Usually deaf people are normal in intelligence, and the quickest way to turn them off is to attempt to patronize them. This is as insulting to a deaf person as it is to a person with normal hearing, but few hearing people seem to realize this. Indignities that a normally courteous hearing person would not dream of inflicting upon another person, he will often do to a deaf person. These can range from forcing unwanted help upon a deaf person capable of handling his own affairs; through disregard for the deaf person's feeling by discussing him verbally with another hearing person; to interrupt a hearing-deaf conversation without apology or explanation excluding the deaf person entirely. Whether the exclusion is unintentional or deliberate, the deaf person is left with a feeling of humiliation.

Deaf people themselves are sometimes guilty of a breach of good manners. Those deaf who have the ability to both speak and sign simultaneously,

occasionally exclude hearing people with limited manual communication skills from their conversations. However, the hearing person does not normally feel insulted, and usually is quick to remind the deaf person of his signing skill by asking for vocal replay. On the other hand, the deaf person, sensitized by a lifetime of being made to feel like a second class person, of being snubbed, ignored, and patronized both intentionally and unintentionally, does not call attention to the social faux pas of his "betters". Rather, he will withdraw in hurt and resentment, seeking other conversational partners.

Even veteran interpreters for deaf people sometimes forget deaf people are present and carry on verbal conversations with other hearing people which exclude the deaf people. However, good interpreters usually keep a weather eye on the deaf person. If he appears to be getting lost in the conversation, the interpreter tries to bring him up to date by interpreting the remarks the deaf person did not catch.

What can you, a complete newcomer to the language of signs, do if you are interrupted by another hearing person who must talk to you in front of a deaf person with whom you have been trying to communicate? Observe the common courtesy of apologizing for the necessary interruption. "Excuse me" will enable the deaf person to wait a reasonable length of time before beginning to feel abandoned. If you must accompany the other hearing person elsewhere, excuse yourself and give a brief explanation of why you must leave.

If, on the other hand, your conversation with the other hearing person is not urgent or private and if it lasts longer than just a few minutes, you should attempt to bring the deaf person into the conversation if he still stands there patiently waiting for you. This can be done in such a way that the deaf person, whether or not he actively participates in the conversation, at least FEELS included, and may be enabled to follow the conversation down to the point that the deaf person's lipreading ability may enable him to catch most of what is being said.

It is, of course, extremely rude for two hearing persons to carry on a verbal conversation in the presence of a deaf person if both persons are fluent in manual communication. Also, it is rude for a hearing person to interrupt a conversation between a hearing person and a deaf person without any attempt to include the deaf person in the conversation. An explanation and apology for this kind of behaviour is certainly in order to the deaf person.

- Excerpt from A CAUSE IN AMERICAN SIGN LANGUAGE via the Georgia Helper

HELPFUL HINTS ON FINGERSPELLING

1. The goals in mastering the alphabet are accuracy and smoothness in making the letters. Do not be concerned with speed. Strive for a rhythm in making the letters and speed will come naturally in good time.

2. There should be a smooth transition from one letter to the next with no pausing between. It is at this point that rhythm plays a vital part. Pick a uniform, constant rhythm that is not too fast or too slow for you. Then, stick to that rhythmical pattern. Force yourself to do this. You may have to go slowly at first, but that is preferable to a fast-slow-and complete stop pattern. It is confusing to read a person who spells alternately fast and slow within a single word. Travel at a constant speed.

3. Another common error the beginning usually commits might be facetiously called starched fingers. Many people seem to lapse into a state of shock and their fingers appear stiff as sticks. In spite of all their efforts, they are just not able to get their fingers to cooperate. For this there is only one cure--relaxation. How one manages to relax is extremely personal.

4. Concentrate on saying the word, thinking the word, and seeing the word, NEVER LETTERS!

5. Strive for good "penmanship" in fingerspelling. Remember it is much easier to form good habits in the beginning than to break bad ones later.

6. Find a comfortable, easy position so that the hand can be relaxed.

   (a) Elbow down toward the waist.
   (b) Hand palm out in a comfortable position about 6 or 8 inches beneath the chin. The hand is turned slightly at an angle with the thumb side near the body. DEVELOP A RHYTMIC STYLE!

7. When practicing alone, one can use a mirror to get a better view of the word. (Since the palm is turned outward in fingerspelling the mirror image will give a better view for memorizing the appearance of a word).

8. The very best practice can be obtained through conversation with deaf adults. Their patience and kindness often seem to be endless.

9. Context is important. Some words look very similar (especially when they begin and end in the same letters and contain the same numbers of letters.) For example: cab, cub

10. If one loses a word, the remainder of the sentence may give a clue.
    1. Mary b--g-t a new dress
    2. My sister is c----g to visit
    3. I got a doll for c----t--s.
    4. I have two b--th--s and two sisters.

READING FINGERSPELLED WORDS AND SENTENCES

There are many obvious reasons why it is easier for an adult to learn to fingerspell than it is to read fingerspelling. Probably the basic reason is that in fingerspelling we are sending a thought formed in our own mind -- a mental action followed by the physical. We set our own pace, slowing, repeating, starting over at will. In reading fingerspelling, our thinking process is reversed and the mental action follows the physical.

A second reason is that we have many more opportunities for practising expressive fingerspelling. Therefore, from the very first, it would be wise to concentrate on methods to perfect reading fingerspelling.

Following is a list of suggestions:

1. When two or more people practise together, each may watch the formation of the word on the hand of the other, thereby memorizing the picture of the word.

2. When practising at home, one can use a mirror to get a better view of the word (since the palm side of the hand is turned outward in fingerspelling the mirror image will give a better view for memorizing the appearance of the word).

3. The very best practise can be obtained through conversation with deaf adults. Their patience and kindness often seems to be endless; their command of syntax makes for easier reading.

4. Whenever the opportunity presents itself, concentrate on a good interpreter's hands and listen to the words being spoken.

5. Context is important as some words look very similar.

6. If one misses a fingerspelled word that is in a sentence, watching the remainder of the sentence may give a clue. (i.e. context of the sentence may help you realize what the fingerspelled word was.)

7. It might be helpful to realize that variations in fingerspelling are comparable to differences in penmanship. Just as one person's handwriting may be more legible than another's, so one person's fingerspelling may be easier to read than another's. (For this reason, one should strive for good "penmanship" in fingerspelling. Remember, it is much easier to form good habits in the beginning than to break bad ones later.)

DEAF CULTURE

Many people in this country consider deafness not a physical condition but an ethnic identity. Those who accept this identity view themselves as belonging to a proud and distinctive subcultural group known as the deaf community. Composed of people who use sign language as their primary means of communication, the deaf community has over the past 150 years developed a rich social life and folklore. Through their own efforts to meet their own needs, deaf people have organized a nationwide and international network of social, religious, athletic, dramatic, scholarly, and literary organizations serving local, national, and international memberships. Every four years, for example, the World Games for the Deaf (the Deaf Olympics) brings together deaf athletes from many countries to compete for international prizes.

Like any true subcultural group, the deaf community adheres to certain particular social norms and values which are passed from generation to generation. Unlike other subcultural groups, however, the deaf community recruits its members in a unique fashion. In general, human culture is passed down within families. But because 90% of deaf children have two hearing parents, only a minority of deaf community members acquire their cultural identity and distinctive social skills at home. Most deaf children learn about the deaf subculture in schools for the deaf, from other children, teachers, and houseparents. Nonetheless, the deaf community is quite cohesive, with a high percentage of members marrying within the group.

A number of people have begun to study deaf folklore and folklife. They have collected jokes, legends, games, riddles, etc., based on sign language and the experiences of deaf people. In addition, linguists have isolated some of the characteristics and values of deaf culture. The following list outlines some of these characteristics.

1. Membership is based on deafness. Members have little or no hearing and define themselves as deaf.
2. There is a heavy emphasis on vision. American Sign Language, a visual mode of communication, is the language used within the deaf community. Members gain the vast majority of their information through their eyes and make a point of observing closely what is happening around them.
3. There is a specific set of social norms. Members follow certain social habits that are somewhat different from the general society. Among these are the following:
   a. Members do not generally use their voices with deaf friends, but will with hearing persons. In fact, many members of the deaf community dissociate themselves from speech.
   b. Members will wave, tap, or throw a small piece of paper to attract a person's attention.
   c. Members will talk (i.e., sign) with food in their mouths.
   d. Members use a variety of devices to replace ordinary alarm clocks, door bells, telephones, fire alarms, etc.
4. Members place a strong emphasis on fostering and maintaining social ties within the community.

The accepted form of etiquette within the deaf community is slightly different from that of the hearing community. Deaf culture, for example, has no prohibition against staring because it is necessary for effective sign communication. The hearing culture, however, considers staring to be rude.

Research on the deaf community, its values, mores, and folklore, is in its infancy. Several social scientists are presently working to develop a more detailed and accurate picture of this distinctive way of life.

DEAFNESS: WHAT IS IT?

At the simplest level, deafness can be defined as the inability to hear speech, whether with or without a hearing aid. But like most simple definitions, this one obscures more than it clarifies. Although deafness begins with a malfunction in the auditory system, its effects spread far beyond mere physical inability to handle sound effectively. In reality, it often affects a person's entire life.

In our society one assumes that people communicate through speech. A hearing loss, therefore, can have a devastating effect on an individual's ability to participate in our society. Whenever it strikes, it means that a person must develop some alternative method of communicating, but if it strikes early in life, it threatens the individual's ability to learn the general spoken language at all. A hearing loss occurring before the age of three years is called prelingual because the child has not yet developed a solid foundation in the spoken language. If deafness strikes at birth, as it has in a growing percentage of today's deaf children, it drastically curtails the child's experience of sound as a basic mode of expression. Early deafness presents a staggering obstacle to mastering the English language, and unless communication is established quickly, both at home and in an educational program, it may hamper the child's chances of learning language systematically and well.

Two basic approaches exist to communicating with deaf children. The oral system uses speech, speechreading (lipreading), and residual hearing. Although often successful with children who have mild hearing losses, this system poses an almost impossible challenge to most deaf children. A technique called cued speech has been developed to enhance lipreading with special hand signals.

The total communication approach, used with most deaf children today, accepts any and all means of communication that work for a particular child. It encourages the use of sign language, along with speech, speechreading, and residual hearing. Several systems of sign language are in use in this country today. American Sign Language, a true visual language totally unrelated to English, has developed naturally for over 150 years. It is one of number of quite distinct sign languages that exist in various countries of the world. A number of other, synthetic systems use natural signs in the word order of English sentences.

Many people who have been deaf since childhood use sign language as their basic mode of communication and, like all linguistic groups, have developed their own culture and social life.

It is vital to remember that deafness creates a communication handicap; its central importance is not that people have difficulty hearing, but difficulty participating fully in a world that depends on sound to get across its ideas. Because there are so many different kinds and degrees of hearing loss, with so many different effects on an individual's ability to communicate through sound, no one approach can meet the needs of every person. But for every person there is an approach or combination of approaches that permits full, clear communication. Every deaf person has the right to use the combination that best suits him or her. The challenge is to establish meaningful communication, whether through speech, sign language, fingerspelling, or pencil and paper because behind the hearing disability is an unhandicapped mind and spirit.

MYTHS ABOUT DEAFNESS

Like all minority groups, deaf people suffer from stereotyping by many who don't know and understand them. A number of myths about deaf people circulate widely in our society and get in the way of understanding between hearing and deaf people.

MYTH: ***All hearing losses are the same.***
FACT: The single term **deafness** covers a wide range of hearing losses that have very different effects on a person's ability to process sound and, thus, to understand speech.

MYTH: ***All deaf people are mute.***
FACT: Some deaf people speak very well and clearly; others do not because their hearing loss prevented them from learning spoken language. Deafness usually has little effect on the vocal chords, and very few deaf people are truly mute.

MYTH: ***People with impaired hearing are "deaf and dumb."***
FACT: The inability to hear affects neither native intelligence nor the physical ability to produce sounds. Deafness does not make people **dumb** in the sense of being either stupid or mute. Deaf people, understandably, find this stereotype particularly offensive.

MYTH: ***All deaf people use hearing aids.***
FACT: Many deaf people benefit considerably from hearing aids. Many others do not; indeed, they find hearing aids to be annoying, and they choose not to to use them.

MYTH: ***Hearing aids restore hearing.***
FACT: Hearing aids amplify sound. They have no effect on a person's ability to process that sound. In cases where a hearing loss distorts incoming sounds, a hearing aid can do nothing to correct this and may even make the distortion worse.

MYTH: ***All deaf people can read lips.***
FACT: Some deaf people are very skilled lipreaders, but many are not. This is because many speech sounds have identical mouth movements. For example, **p** and **b** look exactly alike on the lips.

MYTH: ***All deaf people use sign language.***
FACT: Many deaf people, especially prelingually deaf people, use sign language. Many others do not. In addition, there are several kinds of sign language systems.

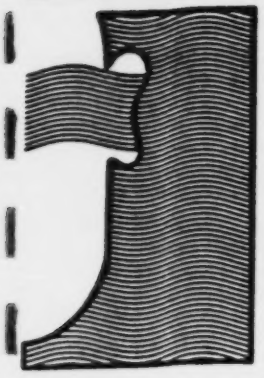
MYTH: ***Deaf people are not sensitive to noise.***
FACT: Some types of hearing loss actually accentuate sensitivity to noise. Loud sounds become garbled and uncomfortable. Hearing aid users often find loud sounds, which are greatly magnified by their aids, very unpleasant.

MYTH: ***Deaf people are less intelligent.***
FACT: Hearing ability is unrelated to intelligence. Lack of knowledge about deafness, however, has often limited educational and occupational opportunities for deaf people.

MYTH: ***Deaf people are alike in abilities, tastes, ideas, and outlooks.***
FACT: Deaf people are as diverse in their abilities, tastes, ideas, habits, and outlooks as any other large group of people.

Factsheet:

General Information



Definitions

Regional Service Centers for Hearing Impaired People

Adventitiously Deaf - Those persons who were born with normal hearing but whose hearing became nonfunctional later through illness or accident.

American Sign Language (ASL, Ameslan) - ASL is the natural, visual language of deaf people. ASL is the fourth most commonly used foreign language in the U.S. and has its own syntax and grammatical structure.

Audiogram (threshold audiogram) - An audiogram is a graph that shows hearing level as a function of frequency. This graph is used in the audiometric evaluation of hearing capacity and is essentially a comparison between the intensity of a sound which is just barely heard by persons with normal hearing, and the intensity of the sound which is just barely heard by the person being tested. Two scales are used, one indicates the frequency (pitch), and the other measures the intensity (loudness) level marked in decibel units. This evaluation is only as reliable as the person who administers the test.

Audiologist - Is a professional with a masters degree in audiology. This person: 1) measures and evaluates the hearing of people of all ages, 2) provides information with respect to the individual's hearing loss, 3) prescribes hearing aids as appropriate, and 4) plans habilitation/rehabilitation programs or refers as necessary. The audiologist does not provide medical services.

Congenitally Deaf - Those who were born with a hearing handicap and who need special methods of education in order to establish language comprehension and verbal communication.

Deaf - Deaf persons are those who cannot hear and understand speech. For them, language reception is a visual process. Some deaf individuals may have useful residual hearing to aid in the communication process.

Deaf and Dumb - A highly offensive term. The appropriate term which has replaced this outdated term is deaf.

Deaf/Multiply Handicapped - In addition to being hearing impaired, persons may also suffer from other disabilities. Research indicates that one in three deaf persons suffer from an additional handicap either visual or non-visual, e.g., blindness, cerebral palsy, and mental retardation.

Fingerspelling - Use of the manual alphabet to form words.

Hard of Hearing - Those whose sense of hearing is defective in one or both ears, but who can utilize hearing with or without the use of a hearing aid to understand speech.

Factsheet:

General Information

Definitions

Regional Service Centers for Hearing Impaired People

Hearing Impairment - A loss of hearing in one or both ears. Any hearing loss occurring at any age. This term is not limited to an individual with a profound hearing loss. It covers the entire range of auditory impairment encompassing not only deaf persons but also those with a very mild loss who may understand speech without great difficulty.

Hearing Screening - A pass/fail indication of whether hearing levels for an individual are within normal limits, which is most often determined through the use of a pure-tone audiometer. The process of audiometric evaluation is used to determine the extent of the hearing loss. This service is provided by several different agencies, both private and public, and by physicians, audiologists, and other professionals in private practice. Some hearing aid dealers also provide their own hearing screening.

Interpreter - A sign language interpreter facilitates communications between deaf and hearing parties by signing what is said and speaking what is signed. An oral interpreter provides a similar service but substitutes oral communication in place of the language of signs.

Language - A language is a system of relatively arbitrary symbols and grammatical signals that change across time and that members of a community share and use for several purposes: to interact with each other, to communicate their ideas, emotions, and intentions and to transmit their culture from generation to generation.

Lip Reading (Speech Reading) - The ability to understand the oral language or speech of a person through observation of lip movement and facial expression. This skill is correctly referred to as speech reading.

Manual Alphabet - The 26 different single-hand positions representing the 26 letters of the alphabet.

Mute - A person incapable of producing speech or vocal sound. The term "deaf-mute" is considered very offensive to the hearing impaired community. Most deaf people are capable of using their vocal organs but may choose not to if they think they are difficult to understand.

Oralism, Oral Training - A method of training or educating hearing impaired people through speech and speech reading without employing the language of signs nor fingerspelling.

Otologist, Otolaryngologist - A medical doctor who specializes in diseases of the ear, nose, and throat.

Postlingual Deafness - A hearing loss which occurs after normal language patterns have been established and which is severe enough to make impossible the understanding of conversational speech in most normal situations with or without a hearing aid.

Definitions

Regional Service Centers for Hearing Impaired People

Prelingually Deaf - Those who have lost their hearing before language skills are established. This loss usually occurs at birth or shortly afterwards (age 0-3).

Presbycusis - Hearing loss due to the aging process. It includes conductive impairments in the middle ear and sensorineural impairments in the inner ear.

Prevocationally Deaf - Those who lost their hearing before age 19. This loss is severe to profound.

Profoundly Deaf - Those who generally do not receive speech sounds with or without aids, even though they may be aware of loud, random noises.

Signed Exact English (SEE) - SEE is the English language put into signs. It is primarily used in educational settings, and is not the same as ASL.

Significant Bilateral Hearing Impairment - Encompasses hearing loss in both ears, with the better ear having some difficulty hearing and understanding speech.

Telecommunication Device for the Deaf (TDD/TTY) - A TDD enables deaf people to use a telephone for communication. This machine has a typewriter keyboard, a coupler for the telephone receiver and a printout, that is electronic and/or paper.

Total Communication - A philosophy of educating the deaf child which advocates the use of any and all means of communication to provide unlimited opportunity to develop language competence. Included are the following: speech, amplification (hearing aid), speechreading, gesturing, signs, finger-spelling, pantomime, reading, writing, pictures, and any other possible means of conveying ideas, language, and vocabulary.

Factsheet:

Deafness

One-to-one communication with a deaf person

1. Every deaf person will communicate in a different way. Some will use speech only; some will use American Sign Language only; some will use a combination of sign language, fingerspelling, and speech; some will write; some will use body language and facial expression to supplement their interactions. Deaf people use many ways to convey an idea to another person.

2. It is important to have the deaf person's attention before speaking. Since deaf people cannot hear the usual call to attention, they may need a tap on the shoulder, a wave of the hand, or other visual signals to gain their attention.

3. Do not speak to a deaf person with your back to a light, window, or mirror.

4. Look directly at the person while speaking. Even a slight turn of the head can obscure the deaf person's vision. Other distracting factors affecting communication include moustaches which obscure the lips, smoking, pencil-cheving, and putting your hands in front of your face.

5. Try to maintain eye contact with the deaf person. Eye contact helps convey the feeling of direct communication. If an interpreter is present, continue to talk directly to the deaf person.

6. Speak slowly and clearly; don't exaggerate your lip movement.

7. Change the wording if you are not understood. Use other expressions which get the same point across. Do not repeat the same phrase over and over.

8. Use words which have a lot of lip movement such as "25¢" instead of "a quarter."

9. Be flexible in use of language. English may not be a deaf person's primary language and therefore, you may need to simplify your sentences.

10. Don't pretend to understand the deaf person when you cannot; be aware of false impressions from the deaf person (head nodding does not necessarily mean "I understand").

11. Pantomime, body language, and facial expression are important factors in communication. Be sure you use all of them.

12. Recognize that communication process may require more time than you expect. By taking time and conveying your desire to communicate you will experience a more successful interaction.

13. Experiment with different techniques. Ask the deaf person how communication can be improved.

14. Often hiring a sign language interpreter will be your only effective communication method with someone whose native language is American Sign Language.

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Factsheet:

Deafness

Tips for note-writing with hearing impaired

Regional Service Centers for Hearing Impaired People

The hearing impaired person her/himself knows what form of communication is most comfortable for her/him. If it's more comfortable for her/him to speak and lipread you, respect those wishes - unless you can't become adjusted to the hearing impaired person's speech. You have the right to communication you will understand too!

If you use note-writing to communicate, you can start writing as you normally would. However, if this doesn't work well, follow the tips below:

1. Keep it simple and short. Short sentences or phrases are fine.

   Don't write - "How long have you worked here?"

   Do write - "Work here - how long*?"

   *It can be helpful to separate the question words from the rest of the message. Question words include:
   who
   what
   when
   why
   where
   how
   how much, how many

   So don't write - "When did you last eat?"

   Do write - "Eat - when?"

2. Avoid putting two questions or ideas in one sentence. Only ask the second question (or say the second idea) after the first one has been answered (or acknowledged).

3. Questions can sometimes be difficult for some hearing impaired people. If you ask a "where" question, you might get a "when" answer. Also, questions that require simply a "yes" or "no" for the answer might elicit a long, detailed answer. To handle this, if it occurs, you can give some answers to choose from. For example:

   Don't write - "Are you feeling ill this morning?"

   Do write - "Sick? Yes-no."

   Don't write - "What time did you wake up this morning?"

   Do write - "Wake up--when? 7:00 7:30 ..."

4. Visual aids are important even though you're writing. You might need to draw a diagram or point to make something clear.

Tips for note-writing with hearing impaired

Regional Service Centers for Hearing Impaired People

Don't write - "Each morning as soon as you arrive to work, you will be expected to punch in at the time clock to the right of the front door."

Do write - "Every day - 8:00" Then point to time clock and demonstrate how to punch in. Stand back and have the hearing impaired person do it to see if he/she understood. Don't accept smiles and nods as evidence of understanding.

Note: If the person doesn't understand "every day," you could write:

Monday	8:00
Tuesday	8:00
Wednesday	8:00
Thursday	8:00
Friday	8:00

5. Facial expression can be used even with notes. If you are handing him/her a note with a question on it, have a questioning expression on your face (raise your eyebrows). This will give the added clue that you expect an answer.

6. Don't be afraid to repeat what the hearing impaired person has said —maybe in other words or with something visual--to make sure you've been understood. Repetition is part of every day life to hearing impaired people and it's necessary to make sure you have understood one another.

7. Please be careful not to be condescending to hearing impaired people if you have to adjust your writing for them. This attitude is picked up by them very easily. If you want to see if your message has been made clear, avoid saying, "Understand?" which has a condescending flavor to it. Instead, realize that you're responsible to deliver a clear message and a misunderstanding could be your fault for not being clear. Instead of saying "Understand?", you could ask something like "Am I clear?" which will indicate to the hearing impaired person that you are also taking responsibility in making the communication understandable.

Factsheet:

Deafness

Common misconceptions about deafness

"DEAF PERSONS CAN READ LIPS"

Speechreading or lipreading is a skill that some deaf persons are good at; others have difficulty mastering such a talent. While good speechreading skill can help in communications, about 30% of speech is visible on the lips, and even the best speechreaders can't speechread everything that is said (example "bump" and "pump").

"DEAF PERSONS ARE NOT DISTRACTED WHEN THEY WORK IN A NOISY ENVIRONMENT"

Most deaf persons have some residual hearing, and if they wear hearing aids they may be even more sensitive to sounds and vibrations than most hearing persons. The right deaf person can often handle a noisy job, but it is wrong to think any deaf person can work in such a situation.

"DEAF PERSONS CAN'T USE THE TELEPHONE"

Some deaf persons have enough residual hearing or have developed the speech skills necessary to use the telephone. Special telecommunication aids have been developed for hearing impaired and deaf people.

"PEOPLE WHO HAVE UNUSUAL SOUNDING SPEECH ARE MENTALLY RETARDED"

There is absolutely no correlation between a person's speech and intelligence.

"DEAF PERSONS ARE MUTE"

Deaf persons are not "mute". Deaf persons have normal vocal organs. Some deaf persons choose not to use their voices if they think that they are difficult to understand or have inappropriate pitch or volume. Terms like "deaf and dumb" or "deafmute" are outdated and considered offensive by most deaf people.

"DEAF PEOPLE AREN'T VERY BRIGHT BECAUSE THEY HAVE NOT LEARNED TO TALK OR USE PROPER GRAMMAR"

Because the basic form of communication of the deaf community is sign language, many deaf persons have not mastered the grammatical fine points of their "second" language - English. This certainly does not indicate a lack of intelligence. Most deaf individuals do learn English usage and do have speech training, but they may find it easier to communicate in their primary language.

"HEARING AIDS TOTALLY CORRECT HEARING IMPAIRMENTS"

Hearing aids are assistive devices which improve hearing in some individuals. The aids do not correct hearing. A hearing aid may enable a person to hear someone's voice, even though they may not be able to

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understand distinct words. The fact that someone is wearing a hearing aid does not necessarily indicate that the person can hear normally. A hearing aid merely lessens the degree of severity of a hearing loss.

"DEAF PEOPLE LEAD TOTALLY DIFFERENT LIVES THAN OTHER PEOPLE"

Most deaf individuals living at home occupy their time just like you. They go to work, marry and raise families, drive cars, use the phone, go shopping and pay taxes. Of course, individual differences exist. But chances are good that when you meet a deaf person, you will share several similar interests which you can explore together.

"DEAF PERSONS CANNOT APPRECIATE THE ARTS BECAUSE THEY CAN'T HEAR MUSIC, MOVIES, ETC."

Common misconceptions about deafness

Anyone who has ever had the privilege to see a performance by the National Theatre of the Deaf will realize the error in the above statement. Throughout history, deaf individuals have participated in and contributed to the performing arts. (How about Beethoven, for example?) Captioning of movies and other audio-visual media would be helpful for deaf citizens, and this practice should be encouraged. But as long as there is rhythm and visual image, those with residual hearing and even those who are totally deaf can be valued patrons and performers of the arts.

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Factsheet:

Hard of Hearing

Rules for communicating with people who are hard of hearing

1. Make sure you have the person's attention before you begin speaking. Either a tap on the shoulder or a visual signal can be used to gain attention.

2. Speak more slowly and clearly, taking care to "round off" words. Don't shout or use highly exaggerated speech.

3. Do not speak with anything in your mouth such as a pipe or cigarette. Also take care to keep your hands away from your mouth so that your lip movements and facial expressions can be seen.

4. People with hearing loss find it hard to hear in the presence of background noise, so be sure to move away from such noise, or turn down the radio or TV when trying to converse.

5. Always face the person with a hearing loss when speaking, making sure there is good light in your face.

6. Assist them, as needed, in following a conversation by letting them know the general topic.

7. If the person is needing a repeat of a word or phrase he can't seem to understand, try rephrasing it rather than repeating it.

8. If the person is wearing a hearing aid, don't assume he will or should have excellent hearing. He will still have some difficulty and will benefit from your consideration.

9. Never ridicule an attempt to hear what is being said. This can do untold damage to the person's confidence.

10. Don't hesitate to ask the person to let you know what to do to better enable him to understand you — his hearing ability will vary with rooms, background noise, fatigue, and many other factors.

11. Remember -- hearing loss affects people differently and there are many different types of hearing problems. Nearly all people with hearing loss have some form of distorted hearing ability. While they may well be able to detect many sounds, the clarity of those sounds and of speech may be lacking greatly.

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The Deaf as Oppressed Peoples

On Jan. 11, 1986, Charlotte Baker-Shenk presented her paper "Characteristics of Oppressed and Oppressor Peoples: Implications for Interpreters" to the D.C. Potomac Chapter of the RID. The full version of the paper will be published in the proceedings of the 1985 RID Convention. Some of the topics covered will be discussed in this article.

On oppression, she maintains that deaf people show the same kinds of characteristics as other oppressed minorities. Awareness and recognition of oppression can help people to squash oppression and have positive results.

One characteristic of oppressed minorities is their suffering due to low self-esteem. There is the feeling of hopelessness, of a lack of opportunities, of no voice or power to control one's life. The dominant power group denies recognition of the minority's language and their culture. Minority group members may face discrimination in areas like education, housing and employment.

These characteristics are faced by deaf people also. American Sign Language is looked down on by hearing people. It has been viewed as less intelligent, ungrammatical, and even animalistic by hearing professionals. Acceptance of ASL's use and worth is crucial to the health of deaf culture. Deaf persons are traditionally undereducated because the system is not designed to fit their needs. An educational system for the deaf not by the deaf fails because hearing teachers and administrators do not include deaf people in deciding their own destinies. Another characteristic of oppression is deaf professionals who tend to "become" more like the dominant power group, in this case, hearing people. Those deaf people who can lipread well and speak clearly who can "pass" in the hearing world.

Baker-Shenk cites examples from Goffman, who states that the dominant power group develops expectations as to how other people should act. They use themselves as standards to measure other people. Individuals who don't meet their expectations are stigmatized.

The dominant group keeps control by not using the language of the oppressed (ASL). They reject ASL, but ASL is used by deaf people in everyday conversation.

Attitudes of the dominant power group influence how deaf people might view themselves. Some deaf people will join together to preserve the deaf culture. Others will try to measure themselves and develop self-hatred based on their difference from the dominant power group (hearing). More often, deaf and oppressed people exhibit ambivalance. They show both traits sometimes they join together, other times they will express anger. These come up in one way or another at different times in their life. When anger appears, it may be used on others in the group. This happened in the 1960s when riots involved black people hurting their own people.

Artist: Ralph R. Miller

Another result of oppression is when people become helpless and just accept the dominant power groups' expectations. There is the feeling of dependency and usually results in a fear of liberation. Often the dominant power group

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believes everyone wants to be like them. For instance, deaf people really want to be hearing and want to get rid of their deafness. Hearing people are often shocked when deaf people refuse to wear hearing aids or run to have a cochlear implant.

The dominant group has a desire for approval and gratitude from minority group members. The system has been developed to meet the needs of the group in control. The dominant group is fearful. They are afraid of losing their prestige and power. This is proven when we see only token representation of deaf persons in positions of authority in deaf education.

Editor: We, as deaf people have traditionally accepted things the way they are. It is time for us to have more control in the decisions affecting the education of our deaf children and their futures. Let's all join together to work for change!

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Deafpride, INC.
P.O. Box 10176
Washington, D.C. 20018

HEARING AND DEAF, EACH MAY BE VIEWED DIFFERENTLY . . . .

By Roslyn Rosen, Ed.D.

Attitudes color the way people think, feel and act towards other people.

Attitudes can affect expectations for and views of different people.

Here are some examples:

Hearing	Deaf
He's good looking. *Hmm. Nice.*	He's good looking. *He's too cute to be deaf.*
He wears glasses. *Oh?*	He wears glasses. *He's got a problem.*
He can't sign. *He doesn't have to.*	He can't sign. *He must keep trying.*
He has good speech. *So?*	He has good speech. *He must be smart.*
He knows American Sign Language. *Wow! He's talented.*	He knows American Sign Language. *OK but does he know English?*
He writes well. *He's well educated.*	He writes well. *But he still can't talk.*
He gets a C in school. *He can do better.*	He gets a C in school. *Great, for a deaf person!*
He's crossing the street. *He'll make it.*	He's crossing the street. *Boy Scout, come and do your good deed.*
He applies for a job. *Resume looks good - let's try him.*	He applies for a job. *Him? He has too many faults.*
He's talking with co-workers. *He's discussing ideas.*	He's talking with co-workers. *He's gossiping*
He's outspoken. *He's concerned and involved.*	He's outspoken. *He's always complaining.*
He gets a job promotion. *He deserves it.*	He gets a job promotion. *He's a token.*
His secretary answers the phone. *He's important!*	His secretary answers the phone. *He has to depend on her!*
He starts his own business. *He's ambitious.*	He starts his own business. *He's crazy.*
He marries a deaf girl. *He's noble.*	He marries a deaf girl. *She'll help him.*
He drives a car and doesn't hear the siren. *That's OK. The radio was on.*	He drives a car and doesn't hear the siren. *Deaf drivers are dangerous.*
He's on his honeymoon. *He'll have no time to talk.*	He's on his honeymoon. *How will he talk in the dark?*
His kid joins in the conversation. *Kids should be seen, not heard.*	His kid joins in the conversation. *Smart kid, helping his father.*
He gives a presentation. *He's very good.*	He gives a presentation. *The interpreter's very good.*

YOU HAVE TO BE DEAF TO UNDERSTAND

by Willard J. Madsen

What is it like to "hear" a hand?
You have to be deaf to understand!

What is it like to be a small child,
In a school, in a room void of sound-
With a teacher who talks and talks and talks;
And then when she does come around to you,
She expects you to know what she's said?
You have to be deaf to understand.

Or the teacher who thinks that to make you smart,
You must first learn how to talk with your voice;
So mumbo-jumbo with hands on your face
For hours and hours without patience or end,
Until out comes a faint resembling sound?
You have to be deaf to understand.

What is it like to be curious,
To thirst for knowledge you can call your own,
With an inner desire that's set on fire--
And you ask a brother, sister, or friend
Who looks in answer and says, "Never mind!"?
You have to be deaf to understand.

What is it like in a corner to stand,
Though there's nothing you've done really wrong,
Other than try to make use of your hands
To a silent peer to communicate
A thought that comes to your mind all at once?
You have to be deaf to understand.

What is it like to be shouted at
When one thinks that will help you to hear;
Or misunderstand the words of a friend
Who is trying to make a joke clear,
And you don't get the point because he's failed?
You have to be deaf to understand.

What is it like to be laughed in the face
When you try to repeat what is said;
Just to make sure that you've understood,
And you find that the words were misread--
And you want to cry out, "Please help me, friend!"?
You have to be deaf to understand.

What is it like to have to depend
Upon one who can hear to phone a friend;
Or place a call to a business firm
And be forced to share what's personal, and,
Then find that your message wasn't made clear?
You have to be deaf to understand.

What is it like to be deaf and alone
In the company of those who can hear-
And you only guess as you go along,
For no one's there with a helping hand,
As you try to keep up with words and song?
You have to be deaf to understand.

What is it like on the road of life
To meet with a stranger who opens his mouth--
And speaks out a line at a rapid pace;
And you can't understand the look in his face
Because it is new and you're lost in the race?
You have to be deaf to understand.

What is it like to comprehend
Some nimble fingers that paint the scene,
And make you smile and feel serene
With the "spoken word" of the moving hand
That makes you part of the world at large?
You have to be deaf to understand.

What is it like to "hear" a hand?
Yes, you have to be deaf to understand!

YOU HAVE TO BE DEAF TO UNDERSTAND (translated to ASL)

What like hand signing?

You have deaf understand!

What like small child,
In school, in room void sound-
With teacher who talks talks talks
then teacher looks at you,
she expects you know what she said?

You have deaf understand.

Teacher thinks make you smart,
First you must learn how talk your voice;
mumbo-jumbo hands on your face hours and hours
struggled until little voice?

You have deaf understand.

What like curious,
thirst for knowledge that real mine
Inner desire that set on fire-
you ask brother, sister, or friend
and says, " not important "?

You have deaf understand.

What like corner stand,
though there nothing wrong,
than try make use your hands
silent peer communicate when
your mind something appears?

You have deaf understand.

What like person shouted,
thinks that will help you hear;
or misunderstand words from friend
who trying make joke clear,
and you don't understand because he failed?

You have deaf understand.

What like laughed at you
when you try repeat what said;
just make sure that clear
but words misread-
And you want cry out,"Please help me, friend"?

You have deaf understand.

What like depend hearing person,
phone for me company or business
and must tell what your personal privacy
then you find that your info wrong?

You have deaf understand.

What like deaf and alone,
in group hearing and you only guess
and go along, no one there with help
interpreting, you try keep up follow?

You have deaf understand.

What like on road life meet stranger,
who opens his mouth and speaks fast out
line and you can't see his face nothing
understand because new and you lost?

You have deaf understand.

What like understand hands sign,
show clear pictures make feel you
satisfied and smile that connect(join
me and you) world?

You have deaf understand.

What like hand signing?

Yes, you have deaf understand!

AMERICAN ENGLISH AND OTHER ENGLISHES

The total number of languages in the world is large: say between 4,000 and 4,500. But considering the total world population of 4 billion and 19 million, this seems to be a small number. If we divide this number by 4,500 languages, we have approximately one language for every 893,111 people, but that is not exactly how human languages are distributed. There are only five languages that can claim a really large number of speakers, namely, Chinese (811 million), English (363 million), Hindi-Urdu (271 million), Russian (240 million), and Spanish (219 million). Of these languages, only English can claim to have attained the enviable position of a more or less UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE. A universal language is one which, in its various forms and functions, is used by a large portion of the human population for easy communication between peoples of diverse cultural and language backgrounds. Attempts have been made toward developing a universal or international language since the 1880's. These attempts, however, have not been successful, though some artificial international languages have had partial success; for example, Esperanto. Other such attempts were much less successful, as was the case with Novial, Occidental, Interlingua, Volapuk, Ido, etc. The reasons for their failure are many, but the fact is that they have less chance of general acceptance and survival than does a choice from among existing NATURAL LANGUAGES.

In the past, several natural languages have acquired widespread roles in ritual, diplomacy, literature, or fashion. One does not have to think hard to find examples: Latin for ritualistic uses and learned professions in Europe, French in diplomacy and fashion, and Sanskrit for ritualistic, religious, and literary functions in South Asia. However, in the last two centuries, the picture has completely changed. English, which was a minor language in the sixteenth century, has slowly but definitely gained an edge over other major languages as an international language. If we compare the present position of English with what the English poet John Dryden had to say about it in 1693, we can understand the extent of its diffusion and gain in prestige in the last three hundred years. Dryden complained, "We have yet no prosodia, not so much as a tolerable dictionary or a grammar,

so that our language is in a manner barbarous" (cited in Baugh and Cable 1978: 255). The primary reasons for such development and expansion are not essentially linguistic, but political, social and technological. After all, linguistically speaking, or in terms of the communicative potential of a language, any human language has the potential of becoming an international language.

Let us briefly discuss what contributed to the attainment of such a status by English. The main reason was colonization, which brought major parts of Africa and Asia under the direct rule of English speaking Britain. This initiated the diffusion of various types and degrees of BILINGUALISM in English. The introduction of western English-medium education resulted in the emergence of native elite groups in the far-flung areas of the empire, who in turn became the supporters of English and of western models of education. The diffusion of English, as the language of colonial masters need not overshadow many positive aspects for which English was accepted and even demanded by the colonized people. The positive aspects of English includes its long and rich literary tradition in various forms, its widespread use as a language of science and technology, and its proven capacity to absorb from various languages and cultures.

ENGLISHES OF THE WORLD

When we talk of the English language as an international language or as a universal language, we are talking of an abstract concept. Actually, there are a number of Englishes present in the world. The all-embracing concept of the English-using SPEECH COMMUNITY entails a strong generalization, since this speech community includes a number of subcommunities which may be divided in various ways. The first broad division may be in terms of the English-speaking nations of the world, for example, American English, Australian English, British English, Canadian English, Indian English, Jamaican English, and so forth. If we use ethnic criteria, we have, among others, Chicano English and Anglo-Indian English. On the other hand, if we are fond of color categories, we may use labels such as Black English, Brown English, White English and Yellow English. The ways to cut the cake

are limitless, and one can use a number of linguistic or functional criteria to do so.

There is, however, one distinction among the users of English which is useful and important to our present discussion. We must divide this speech community into three subgroups in order to see the roles and functions of the world Englishes in a realistic international context. The first group comprises those who use English as their first language - their MOTHER TONGUE - as do a large number of Americans, British, Australians, or English-speaking Canadians. These speakers may form culturally distinct groups, but they are native speakers of English. The second group uses English as their **second** language. In their case England an acquired language which is learned after they have learned their mother tongue, which may be one of the languages of Asia, Africa, or the Philippines. The second language speakers of English must further be separated from those who use it as foreign language, as for example in Iran for science and technology, in Japan for international commerce and tourism, or in Sweden where it has become the most popular foreign language in the schools. English as a second language has a distinct status in the language planning of a number of countries. In India, for example, it is treated as one of two associate OFFICIAL LANGUAGES in the Indian Constitution, the other being Hindi. However, this is not true of those countries where it is used basically as a foreign language. The members of the English-using speech community thus form a spectrum with reference to their competence in English; those who use English as their first language or mother tongue, as a **second** language - a medium of education, language of government, and the like - or simply as a **foreign** language. These distinctions are important since they separate these varieties in terms of their functions, the proficiency of their speakers, and the processes which are used to acquire each variety.

Speakers of the first language varieties of English number over 266 million, but they comprise only 73.3 percent of the total number of English speakers. The give largest groups are American English speakers (182 million), British English speakers (55 million), Australian and Canadian English speakers (13 million), and New Zealand English speakers (3 million).

AMERICAN ENGLISH AND OTHER COLONIAL ENGLISHES

The American variety of English has several special characteristics associated with its growth and development that offer an interesting linguistic case study for comparison with other varieties of English. On the one hand, it provides an example of linguistic pride and what may be termed a conscious effort toward establishing language identity. On the other hand, it has the unique characteristics of a **TRANSPLANTED LANGUAGE**. In this respect, then, it can be related to other Englishes which have been transplanted in various parts of the world. Mathews (1931: 9) was therefore correct when he said:

> The fact should be borne in mind that the treatment given the English language in this country does not differ in kind from that given to the language wherever English colonists have gone. In India, Canada, Australia, and Africa the English language has been modified in very much the same way that it has in this country.

Other terms have also been used for transplanted English. Turner (1966) used the term "English transported" for Australian and New Zealand English; later Ramson (1970) also used this term as the title of his book, **English Transported:** Essays on Australasian English. Indian English fiction has been termed by Mukherjee (1971) **The Twice Born Fiction**, since as she says, it is "the product of two parent traditions..."

The attitude of British English speakers toward American English was not much different from their attitude toward other varieties of English. As an example, it is useful to read what the Very Reverend Henry Alford, D.D., Dean of Canterbury, had to say in his "Plea for the Queen's English" in 1863: "Look at the process of deterioration which our Queen's English has undergone at the hands of the Americans. Look at those phrases which so amuse us in their speech and books; at their reckless exaggeration and contempt for congruity..."

One way to show nationalist pride against such an attitude of the "mother English" speakers was to proclaim American English distinct from the variety spoken by the cousins on the other side of Atlantic. Therefore, initially some scholars preferred to call it the **American language** as opposed to American English. One might say that this was one way of

getting even with the colonizers' linguistic superiority. This attitude is present in the well-known book by H.L. Mencken entitled **The American Language**. It was published in 1919 and embodies what Noah Webster (the "cracker-barrel lexicographer") had said over a century earlier about American English. The following words of Webster may not necessarily have proved correct, but they do demonstrate an attitude which cannot be ignored in understanding the genesis of American English.

> Several circumstances render a future separation of the American tongue from the English, necessary and unavoidable. The vicinity of the European nations, with the uninterrupted communication in peace, and the changes of dominion in war, are gradually assimilating their respective languages. The English with others is suffering continual alterations. America, placed at a distance from those nations, will feel, in a much less degree, the influence of the assimilating causes; at the time, numerous local causes, such as a new country, new associations of people, new combinations of ideas in arts and science, and some intercourse with tribes wholly unknown in Europe, will introduce new words into the American tongue. These causes will produce, in a course of time, a language in North America, as different from the future language of England, as the modern Dutch, Danish, and Swedish are from the German, or from one another...(Webster 1789: 22)

We have introduced the term "transplanted language", and it is natural to ask what such a term implies and in what sense a language may be transplanted. A language may be considered transplanted if it is used by a significant number of speakers in social, cultural, and geographical contexts different from the contexts in which it was originally used. In this sense, then, there are several varieties of English which continue to be used as native languages by a majority of the people in Australia, Canada, the United States, and New Zealand which, as we know, were transplanted from the mother country, England. There are many other languages which have such transplanted varieties, for example, Spanish and Portuguese in Latin American, French in Canada and parts of Africa; Portuguese in Brazil, Sri Lanka, and Africa; Persian in India and Afghanistan; and Hindi in Fiji, South Africa and the West Indies.

One might then say that a transplanted language is cut off from its traditional roots and begins to function in new surroundings, in new roles and new contexts. This newness initiates changes in language. It is these

changes which eventually result in certain characteristic linguistic manifestations and are identified with labels such as the "Australianness" in one variety, the "Americanness" in another variety, or the "Indianness" in still another variety of English. These linguistic characteristics can be described with reference to the typical linguistically relevant "clue-marking" indicators such as those of social status, geographical origin, caste membership, or educational background, and in terms of the traditional linguistic levels, PHONOLOGICAL (and PHONETIC) clues show the differences in the way speakers pronounce words and use rhythmic or intonation patterns in a sentence. SYNTACTIC (or grammatical) clues show how words are combined in larger units, clauses or sentences, MORPHOLOGICAL clues mark how words are formed from minimal meaningful terms. LEXICAL clues provide information about the vocabulary of language. SEMANTIC clues are concerned with what is generally known as "meaning". Thus, the "Americanness" in American English lies in the way Americans pronounce words, combine smaller units into larger units, and use the vocabulary. The same can be said about the "Australians" in Australian English and the "Indianness" in Indian English. It is therefore appropriate that the modifiers of nationality (eg. American, Australian, Canadian, Caribbean, Indian) are used to mark each variety different from the other varieties.

At this point, it should be noted that the concept of difference must not be taken too far. There are more similarities than differences between the various varieties of English; that is how an underlying Englishness is maintained in all these Englishes spoken around the globe. If it were not so, there would be serious problems in intelligibility between the speakers of various types of Englishes. Imagine the situation if Americans could not understand Australians, and Australians could not understand the British; or for that matter, if the educated non-native speakers of English, such as Indians and Nigerians, could not be understood by native speakers. But as we know, that is not generally the case. Any native speaker of English may have value judgements about varieties of English other than his own, ie. an American may intuitively recognize the speech of Englishmen as "clipped, cold and rather effeminate"; an Englishman may speak of "the nasal twang" of an American, or "the sing-song" English of an Indian. However, in spite of these stereotypes of varieties of English,

educated speakers of all these varieties generally understand each other. A native speaker of a language does not have to be a linguist to notice the individual, regional, or national speech characteristics of a person. After all, we often hear people say "he speaks a DIALECT", "he sounds like an Indian", "this person sounds Australian": such judgements are based on associating some features of a person's speech with a dialect, Indian English, or Australian English. The professional describes the differences for which non-linguists use cover terms such as "nasal twang" or "sing-song English" in a much more precise and technical way, but the fact of variation is recognized by both. Differences in speech are characteristic of the subgroups in speech communities.

The distinction which I mentioned earlier between the mother English of Britain and transplanted Englishes will, I think, be useful to us now. Mother English had a development and growth typical of a natural language. It was a historical development with various phases. English has done substantial pick-pocketing from other languages, such as Arabic (eg. alcohol, algebra, cork); Dutch (eg. brandy, gin, golf); French (eg. cavalier, garage, rapport); German (eg. hamburger, wiener, bum); Italian (eg. balcony, granite, sonnet); Persian (eg. divan, shawl, spinach); Greek (eg. barometer, idiot, tactics); Hindi (eg, shampoo, pajama, pundit); Spanish (eg. alligator, mosquito, sherry); American Indian languages (eg. chocolate, hominy, moose); thereby enriching its word stock. But that is a different story and has been well documented in most of the histories of the English language, for example, Baugh (1935).

Let us now use the term "other Englishes" for those varieties of English which were spread and developed in areas other than the British Isles. As we noted, the speakers of mother English were not always tolerant and patient toward the growth and development of such varieties. On the contrary, they often had an attitude of arrogance and impatience toward transplanted varieties of English, since the speakers of such varieties did not conform to the patterns of Standard British English - what came to be called in the linguistics literature the RECEIVED PRONUNCIATION (generally abbreviated RP). RP is a type of acquired British speech generally

considered as standard; it is the language of the famous old "public" schools and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

We might say that there is a bond which connects all the transplanted varieties of English, among them American English. This is perhaps as it should be. There are many reasons for it, one being that the processes which the speakers of these languages had to go through to establish their language identities have been more of less the same. The process of establishing an identity for a language can be as painful and as arduous as the struggle for political emancipation. In fact, that is part of the reason why some people attach so much importance to language in a political system or in nation-building activities. This is also the reason why language and nationalism are related and sometimes result in violent language conflicts, as for example in Belguim, Canada, Sri Lanka, and India.

The kinship among the transplanted varieties is historical, cultural and linguistic. In historical terms the other Englishes have developed in two ways. The most stable and powerful centers of the other Englishes are those countries which were settled in by the British and have proportionately high populations from the mother country, ie. Australia, Canada, the United States, and New Zealand. These countries were for a long time closely dependent on the mother country economically, culturally and otherwise. As Laird (1970: 377) observes, "Until about the time of the 1914-18 war, the United States, well supplied with raw materials, imported almost everything else - human beings, religions, customs, education, science and technology, ideas, manufactured goods, books - in fact, most things that could bring language with them." If we add up the number of native speakers of English in the above-mentioned four countries, it is only 211.2 million, 58 percent of the total number of English speakers.

In addition to these transplanted varieties, the other Englishes that have significantly contributed to the diffusion of the English language are the result of Asian and African colonization which made Britain world powers of unparalleled strength and wealth for almost three hundred years. The contribution of colonialism to the countries in Asia and Africa has been a

controversial and an ongoing topic since the loss of the colonies. There are those who have only a critical or nationalistic attitude toward the colonial period, emphasizing the oppressive aspects of empire. There are also those who consider the British benign colonizers who, among other things, left the unifying legacy of the English language behind them. In the newly independent and formerly colonized nations, when hectic efforts are being made to remove marks of the colonial past with an upsurge of nationalistic pride, the English language is not necessarily considered a mark of that past; after all, it has been Africanized, Indianized, Caribbeanized, and has become a part of the living national traditions.

Therefore, it is not surprising that the non-native Englishes show a wide spectrum of uses - English in the former British colonies continues in the form of an "official" or "complementary" language or as a "library" language. The approximate overall total of those who study English as a non-native language in the schools, whether of former colonies or of other countries, is 1 billion and 15 million. In terms of geographical areas, these may be distributed as follows: Asia (excluding the USSR), 60 million; Africa, 20 million; Western and Central Europe, 15 million; Soviet Union, 10 million; western hemisphere, 10 million. Table 2.1 lists the ten countries with the largest enrollment in English in which English functions as a second rather than foreign language, and gives the total enrollment in each country.

Table 2.1 **Enrollment in English in the top ten nations in which English functions as a second language.**

COUNTRY	STUDENTS (millions)
India	17.6
Philippines	9.8
Nigeria	3.9
Bangladesh	3.8
Republic of South Africa	3.5
Malaysia	2.4
Pakistan	1.8
Kenya	1.7
Ghana	1.6
Sri Lanka	1.2

Source: Statistics based on Gage and Ohannessian 1974.

In terms of numbers of users and the range of uses of English, one must specifically mention South Asian English. This variety of English is used on the South Asian subcontinent which includes Bangladesh (pop. 50.89 million), India (pop. 547 million), Nepal (pop. 11.7 million), Pakistan (pop. 61.96 million), and Sri Lanka (pop. 12.5 million). In India alone, if we accept the present language statistics, English is spoken by almost 3 percent of the total Indian population. This small percentage is rather misleading since in numerical terms it accounts for almost 18 million people, equal to 8.4 percent of the population of the United States, 139 percent of the Australian population, and 32.4 percent of the population of Great Britain. If we add to the Indian figure the number of English users in Bangladesh (3.8 million), Pakistan (1.8 million), and Sri Lanka (1.2 million), it totals 24.8 million.

Let us now consider in detail the Indian case to see how bilingualism in English was initiated on the subcontinent. It is a fascinating study in language imposition and language acculturation, and in many respects, it is similar to the cases of non-native World Englishes. Since the introduction of English on the Indian subcontinent and the development of South Asain English involves a span of over two hundred years, it will be useful to divide this period into several phases.

During the earliest period, missionary activity and colonial expansion were closely related in India, as in other parts of the world. The Christian missionaries went to India primarily for proselytization. Soon after that, the second phase started when there developed significant "local demand" from influential Indians such as Raja Rammohan Roy (1771-1833) to persuade the officials of the East Indian company to introduce English education in India instead of continuing the traditional education by pandits and mullas in Sanskrit and Arabic respectively. Raja Rammohan Roy and others wanted the introduction of Western technology and knowledge through the vehicle of a Western language, namely English. In order to achieve this goal, Roy addressed a letter to Lord Amherst (1773-1857) urging him to use available funds for education in India for "employing European gentlemen of talent and education to instruct the natives of India in mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, and other useful sciences, which the

natives of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of the world" (cited in Sharp 1920-2; 1, 99-101).

The third phase of development of bilingualism in India was one marked by acute debate on the merits and demerits of the Oriental and Anglicist (Occidental) system of education for India. The Anglicits finally emerged victorious when the highly controversial and far-reaching Minute of T.B. Macaulay (1800-59) was passed. In this Minute, Macaulay aimed at forming a subculture in India which would include "a class who may be interpreters between us and those whom we govern, a class of persons, Indian in blood and color, English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect" (cited in Sharp 1920-2: 1, 116). This Minute finally received a Seal of Approval on March 7, 1835, from Lord William Bentick (1774-1839) when an official resolution approving Macaulay's Minute was passed. It is this resolution which initiated and seriously established English education in India. Some nationalists and orientalists have never forgiven Macaulay for the racial overtones of his statement, while others have simply overlooked it as exaggerated rhetoric.

The fourth phase begins with Indian independence, when English was given a position as the associate language of India. It is one of the fifteen languages recognized in the Constitution and shares with Hindi the status of a link-language.

On the African continent the missionaries had a deeper and greater impact on education and were more successful in the conversation of local people than they were on the Indian subcontinent. Their initial impact on African education started in the seventeenth century and did not stop with the end of Western colonization in Africa. The results in spreading Christianity in Africa are, therefore, more visible than elsewhere. Mazrui (1975: 12) correctly observes that "The Christian nations of the world are either white nations or black nations - there are almost no Christian nations in the intermediate colours of Asia". The colonial administrators also approached education differently in Africa. There the missionaries seem to

have controlled education even after the European administrators began to pay attention to education. Knappert (1965: 99) notes:

> When the European administrators began to think of education, they found that apart from the Coranic schools, all the education in Africa was being carried out by the missionaries. The government then gave the missionaries full responsibility for all education up to and including secondary level. That is how the number of languages taught at primary level rose to more than twenty in some countries and the governments encouraged diversity rather than unity.

The Asian, African, and West Indian varieties of English therefore have a clear colonial past. There are people in these countries who associate the English language with the colonial period and consider the supporters of English in those countries "Indo-Saxons" or "Afro-Saxons". Others in the now independent countries of Africa and Asia have a strong desire to establish identity with Great Britain and remain loyal to the British Standard (Kachru 1976a).

The colonial past of the not-so colonial Englishes, such as American English or Australian English, cannot be equated with the colonial experiences of Asia and Africa. But in linguistic terms, these varieties demonstrate all the characteristics of a transplanted language. They also share an attitude of linguistic schizophrenia toward mother English, some wishing to be emancipated, others to remain loyal, considering British English the model and, therefore, an authority to be followed and imitated - "The standard writers of a language are, like the guardians of a well ordered state, its preservers from anarchy and revolution. They must be read - and as far as imitation is allowable must be copied..." (Beck 1830: 79).

Let us consider the earlier history of American English. At the beginning, the idea of a British model for American English was not actually relished by leaders of the American Independence movement. But there were some who felt a bond of "loyality" toward it (see Heath 1977; Kahane and Kahane 1977). Those who supported the continuation of the linguistic bond felt a "language loyality" toward Britain for cultural, humanistic, and literary reasons and, above all, to maintain "language solidarity". In opposition

to this attitude of loyality, there were those who wished to declare American English separate. Linguistic "emancipation" was, in the United States as in other post-colonial nations, a natural consequence of political strife. In the United States, this attitude was behind suggestions to eradicate all symbols of the colonial past, including the English language. Attitudes favoring linguistic emancipation or loyality in every nation are, however, most often caused by factors which are not linguistic. Desires to separate from or unify with a group motivate language loyalties. Ethnicity and/or nationalism may cause groups to promote or decry English as a first or second language. In no case, especially for the now independent countries of Africa and Asia, is it possible to ascribe loyality to or renunciation of English to single or simple causes.

NATIVIZATIN OF OTHER ENGLISHES

As I have mentioned, the other Englishes have more similarities to mother English than differences. Otherwise, it would be inappropriate to treat them a varieties of English. In **A COMMON LANGUAGE: BRITISH AND AMERICAN ENGLISH** by Marckwardt and Quirk (1964: 5) an attempt has been made to show that "the two varieties of English...have never been so different as people have imagined, and the dominant tendency, for several decades now, has clearly been that of convergence and even greater similarity". A study of Australian, Caribbean, Indian, Nigerian, or Filipino English will also show that in all these varieties there is an underlying Englishness. There is no need to elaborate on this point further.

However, I would like to discuss some typical characteristics of these other Englishes, which mark their distinct "Americanness," "Caribbeanesss", "Indianness" or "Africanness". We will also see that the typical national or regional characteristics in each variety are, by and large, the result of the particular contexts. It is these linguistic, cultural and ethnic contexts which provide the sources for what are termed Americanisms, Indianisms, Africanisms or Caribbeanisms. Thus, the sources which result in the distinctiveness of these other Englishes are results of typical language-contact situations. In the new contexts, two or more languages come into contact for political, geographical, historical or educational

reasons; and the natural outcome of such contacts is linguistic innovation. The innovations specific to each variety can be regarded as deviations with reference to a norm. It is the sum total of these deviations in pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary which provides the framework for labeling various formations as Americanisms, Indianisms, Caribbeanisms, etc. Traditionally, the mother English of Britain has been considered the norm for marking the deviations, although in the case of certain second language varieties of English, as int he Philippines, Standard American English is treated as the norm.

Since we are focusing on the other Englishes primarily from a linguistic point of view, we should be able to account for the linguistic characteristic of each new variety, explained in terms of what the native context has contributed to it. The contribution of the native cultural and or linguistic contexts results in what is technically called INTERFERENCE or transfer.

A quick glance at the dictionaries of other Englishes will show us many examples of such transfer. If a variety of English already has its own dictionary or other lexical studies, as American English, Australian English, Caribbean English, and Indian English have, it shows that the process of Americanization, Australianization, Caribbeanization, or Indianization of the English language has already taken place. In a variety-oriented lexicon we find several types of deviations. These may include words or compounds which are the result of the culturally pluralistic contexts of the New World, or of Asian and African colonies in which the English language was introduced. Also, these might demonstrate the new specialized uses to which the English language has been put in new contexts in administration, education and politics.

One hundred and fifty years ago, in 1828, Noah Webster (see Sledd 1962: 32-3) presented the following arguments for a distinctly American lexicon of the English language:

> It is not only important, but, in a degree necessary, that the people of this country, should have an American Dictionary of the English language: for, although the body of the language is the same as in England; and it is desirable to perpetuate that sameness, yet some differences

> must exist. A great number of words in our language require to be defined in a phraseology accommodated to the condition and institutions of the people in their states, and the people of England must look to an American dictionary for a correct understanding of such terms.

Webster's point regarding definitions of words suited to local circumstances is similar to the observation of Wilson (1940: i) about the uniqueness of certain terms in Indian English.

> Ryot and Ryotwar, for instance, suggest more precise and positive notions in connection with the subject of land revenue in the South of India, than would be conveyed by cultivator, or peasant or agriculturist, for rent or revenue with the individual members of the agricultural clans.

The Englishman's terms, cultivator, peasant and agriculturist, have to be replaced by ryot and ryotwar in the South Indian context. In their monumental and entertaining work, Hobson-Jobson, Yule and Burnell (1886: xxi) have pointed to the typical Indian characteristic of Indian English:

> Within my own earliest memory Spanish dollars were current in England at a specific value if they bore a stamp from the English mint. And similarly there are certain English words, which have received in India currency with a special stamp of meaning; whilst in other cases our language has formed in India new compounds applicable to new objects or shades of meaning. To one or other of these classes being outcry, buggy, home, interlope, rogue (-elephant), tiffin, furlough, elk, roundal ("an umbrella", obsolete), puh-posh, earth-oil, hog-deer, flying-fox, garden-house, musk-rat, nor-wester, iron-wood, long-drawers, barking-deer, custard-apple, grass-cutter, etc.

It is due to the typically Caribbean uses of Englishes that Allsopp (1972: 5) has proposed "an authoritative lexicographical account of English usage in the Caribbean which must do more than give "meanings" in isolation, but refer words and phrases to their areas and contexts of occurrence..." Such a Caribbean lexicon would account for the nativization of English in various forms; but it will also account for lexical variation (different names for the same item), for example, golden apple, in Barbados has regional variants such as pomme, cythere, jew plum, golden plum, box, meeting-turn, pardner, sousou, syndicate; and it will explain the ethnic impact "in Carribbean culture from Trinidad and Guyana" and list Indic

words such as **daru, holi, phagwa, anjuman, tajah,** which were introduced by the East Indian to Caribbean English. In the global context of English, as Alsopp (1972: 4) says, "Webster's or any other American dictionary, even when it calls itself "International", deal essentially with North American life, and fails, for Caribbean purposes..." Americanisms such **bull-frog, razor-back, turkey-gobbler, egg-plant, jimson-weed, fox-grape** and **apple-butter** listed by Mencken (1936: 113-21) are context-bound in the same way as the Indianisms such as **twice-born, dining-leaf or caste-mark** are in Indian English. There is, as Spencer (1971a: 28) says, "certainly a sufficiency of terms and expressions to justify the term West Africanisms in English. Consider, for example, **cutting-grass, chewing-stick, head-tie, market-mammy, mammy-wagon,** and fetish-priest".

The best example of the influence of the multilingual settings of the new Englishes is provided by the process of hybridization. This process results in a number of formations which comprise lexical items from two or more languages and, in a sense, contextualize an item in a particular variety of English. Consider, for example, the following hybridized Indianisms listed in Kachru (1975); **lathi-charge, tiffin-carrier, tonga-driver, ahimsa-soldier.** Such formations may further be divided into those which have no grammatical constraints in the selection of the members of a hybridized item; for example, the four illustrations provided above, as opposed to others which have certain grammatical constraints. In such items we have a prefix from one language, as in **non-Brahmin,** and the noun from another language. On the other hand, we may have a suffix from one language and the preceding noun from another language as **-wala** in **policewala, -hood** in **Brahminhood, -dom** in **cooliedom,** and **-ism** in **goodaism.**

The nativization of English manifest itself in a much deeper form than merely in pronunciation and vocabulary. These two aspects are, of course, very obvious to any observant speaker of any variety of English. The aspect which has been least studied is the acculturation of English in various non-Western contexts. One can think of a number of contexts which have resulted in such acculturation. For instance, the caste system, in the typical Indian sense, is absent in those countries where English is used as the first language. Therefore, when the English language is used

in typically non-English contexts, as in referring to the caste system or non-Western social roles, various linguistic devices are used to represent such contexts. These devices may include lexical borrowing from the local languages, extension of the semantic range of the English lexical items, or translation of native situation-dependent formations into English. The use of **forehead-marking** for the crimson caste mark which Hindus put on their forehead, or **nine-stranded thread** for the ritualistic thread worn after initiation called **yagnopvu** by the Hindus, have semantic relevance only if viewed in the context of the Indian caste system (see Kachru 1965, 1966).

It is the use of English in non-Western social roles or speech functions in Africa or Asia which brings out its Africanization or Asianization. Let us consider the following examples which are used in the speech functions of greetings or personal interaction in Asian or African English.

(1) May we live to see ourselves tomorrow
(2) He has no chest
(3) He has no shadow
(4) Where does your wealth reside?
(5) What honorable noun does your honour bear?

Do these have ramifications to sign-English?

If we consider these five examples from an American English speaker's point of view, they are contextually deviant and also deviant in the selection of words. One might say this is not the company which these words keep in such contexts in American English. In linguistic terms the Indian or African use of these words places them in a deviant COLLOCATION.

If seen from another point of view, we might say that their functional and formal appropriateness is doubtful, since they do not form part of the communicative repertoire of an American English speaker. On the other hand us, let us consider (1) and (3) above from the point of view of an African English user whose first language is Ijaw, and for him, **May we live to see ourselves tomorrow** is roughly the equivalent of **Good night** in Western societies. Sentences (2) and (3) are the equivalent of **He is timid**, and as Okara (1963: 15) says, "Now a person without a chest in the physical sense can only mean a human that does not exist. The idea becomes clearer in the second translation. A person who does not cast a shadow of course does not exist..."

Sentences (4) and (5) are translations from Punjabi, and Indian language, and have been used in Indian English fiction by Khushwant Singh in his **Train to Pakistan**. These are culturally dependent polite forms for what would be equivalent to American English **Where do you live?** and **What is your name?** Many Indian English speakers will use these in normal speech only for comic effect, but in written English they are used by Singh for developing a character type in a plot, in which such use of English does not sound incongruous.

The process of translation, which is evident in the above examples, is not unusual in the history of the English language. It would be difficult for a modern-day native speaker of English to detect that **a marriage of convenience, I've told him** I **don't know how many times,** or **it goes without saying** were actually word-for-word imitations of French phrases.

As such formations gain wider currency, they become more acceptable--there is nothing intrinsically non-English about them. If we compare the idioms **a crocodile in a loin cloth** and **pin drop silence**, we notice that the first is more deviant in Indian English than is the second, the reason being that **pin drop silence** is heard and read more often than is **a crocodile in a loin cloth.** The device of translation is also used for creating local color. Consider, for example, the comparative constructions **lean as an areca-nut tree, helpless as a calf, as good as kitchen ashes,** and **as honest as an elephant** (Kachru 1976b). In Australian English (Ramson 1970: 52) what may be termed "local color" is similarly conveyed by formations such as **fit as a Malee bull, looking like a consumptive kangaroo, mean as a dishwasher, awkward as a pig with a serviette,** and **handy as cow with a musket.** Quirk et al. (1972: 26) are right in saying that the English language has several "interference varieties that are so widespread in a community and of such long standing that they may be thought stable and adequate enough to be institutionalized and regarded as varieties of English in their own right rather than stages on the way to a more native-like English."

In the preceding paragraphs we have seen that each variety of English undergoes a process of acculturation in its new sociocultural context. In

its new surroundings the transplanted English naturally becomes culture-bound. In order to make clearer what is meant by culture-bound, I shall present below two texts which can be properly understood and appreciated only if they are related to the cultural context of each variety. In **No Longer at Ease (1960)**, Chinua Achebe, a West African English novelist, presents a blend of pidgin and educated English and provides a good example from West African speech of the functional use of **CODE-SWITCHING**, i.e. the switching from one language or language variety to another in the stream of discourse.

"Good! See you later." Joseph always put on an impressive manner when speaking on the telephone. He never spoke Igbo or pidgin English at such moments. When he hung up he told his colleagues: "That na my brother. Just return from overseas. BA (Honours) Classics." He always preferred the fiction of Classics to the truth of English. It sounded more impressive.

"What department he de work?"
"Secretary to the Scholarship Board."
"E go make plenty money there. Every student who wan' go England go de see am for house."
"E no be like dat," said Joseph. "Him na gentleman. No fit take bribe."
"Na so," said the other in disbelief.

The use of code-switching in this text is a linguistic device used to introduce realism into the text.

Another way of contextualizing a text is to use the device of CODE-MIXING, i.e. the use of elements such as lexical items or larger units from another language or language variety in the stream of discourse (Kachru 1979a). In discussing South Asian music, to give one example, English lexical items are inadequated to present the technical concepts of Indian traditions of music. Consider the following example.

> He set the pace for the recital with a briskly rendered Pranamamayakam in Gowlai a composition of Mysore Vasudevachar. One liked the manner in which he and his accompanying vidwan built up the kriti embellishing it with little flourishes here and there...Then came Kamboji

> Alapana for Pallavi ...with Vedanayagam Pillai's Nane Unnie Nambinane in Hamsanandi the recital came to a glorious end. (The Statesman, December 14, 1969)

This excerpt is from a standard national newspaper.
Labels such as "West African" English, "Indian" English, and "American" English are useful to show that these varieties are not marked separately only in a geographical sense, but also in terms of their cultural component and language features. In order to adapt his discourse to a specific cultural context, an author may use a spectrum of Englishes -- as does Achebe in the above passage -- which vary from pidgin, regional, and national to international.

The national Englishes have essentially local uses in culturally and linguistically pluralistic societies. In turn, they have subvarieties which have varying degrees of intelligibility with the English of native speakers or with that of educated speakers of particular national varieties. Allsopp (1972) proposes several subvarieties of Caribbean English, namely "free vernacular," "vernaculars of subcultures," elevated vernacular," "creolized English," and "formal Caribbean English." One might say that Indian English, too, has various subvarieties, ranging from almost complete intelligibility with native speakers of English to very limited intelligibility. These subvarieties are "educated Indian English," "Babu English," "Chee Chee English," "Butler English," and "Bazaar English" (see Kachru 1980).

It is, however, the pronunciation of a speaker which provides an index to the variety of his speech, or to a variety within a variety. As we know, one does not have to be initiated in phonetics or linguistics to identify, for example, a speaker of the American, British, or Indian varieties of English. Pronunciation seems to provide crucial clues toward marking a person as being within a particular group or outside it. By pronunciation we mean the use of segments, termed vowels and consonants, and equally if not more importantly, the way a person arranges syllables for the rhythm of language. It is well known now that rhythm plays an important role in intelligibility. We see that in English, as in other natural languages, some forms of pronunciation acquire prestige or become more acceptable.

The two well-documented and generally acceptable forms of the native varieties of English are Received Pronunciation (RP), and General American (GA). There is no legal or official acceptance for these forms since, as mentioned earlier, English has no academy to regularize language use or prescribe language "etiquette." These standard forms develop by general acceptance or judgment, by looking up to some group, caste, or class for providing a language model, by accepting a model because it is spoken in a particular area, or by considering dictionaries, manuals, or certain types of educated people as "models" for linguistic etiquette. RP or GA are not necessarily "correct," but are more widely known. The radio has contributed to their acceptance. And, in the case of RP, the British Broadcasting Corporation gave it prominence: for a long time RP was identified with "BBC English." Recently things have changed, but that is another story. RP was also associated with the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, especially with those speakers who got their education from the "public" schools, as this term is understood in Britain. The term "General American" was suggested by Krapp (1919), mainly to refer to the variety of English spoken in the central and western United States and in most of Canada.

It is generally true that a standard variety of language is well documented and described by phoneticians, linguists, and language pedagogues. English has pronouncing dictionaries for both RP and GA. That was not, for example, true for Indian English or West African English until recently. Therefore, it was not uncommon to hear questions such as: What is Indian English? What is its "standard" or "educated" form? By form, of course, was meant DESCRIPTION, as this term is understood by linguists.

There is no doubt that the users of non-native Englishes found it more convenient to use RP, or a close approximation to it, as a pedagogical model. RP was well documented and teaching aids and materials were readily available. The well known British phonetician Daniel Jones had by 1918 made the job of teachers easier by his classic work an Outline of English Phonetics (OEP). It is not surprising that by 1956 it had already run into eight editions. Then appeared his Everyman's English Pronouncing Dictionary (EPD). What was more important, Jones stimulated a number of

other young phoneticians to supplement his work. It was not long after Jones' OEP that John S. Kenyon published American Pronunciation (1924), followed by a Pronouncing Dictionary of American English (PDAE) (1944). Kenyon was unhappy to see that there are few subjects on which educated Americans are so ready to pass judgment and give advice on the basis of so little sound knowledge as the pronunciation of the English we use. Influenced by certain types of teaching in the schools, by the undiscriminating use of textbooks on grammar and rhetoric, by unintelligent use of the dictionary, by manuals of "correct English", each with its favorite (and different) shibboleth, and, it would seem, by anybody or anything that has an air of cocksureness about it, we accept rules of pronunciation as authoritative without inquiry into either the validity of the rules or the fitness of their authors to promulgate them. (Kenyon 1924: 3)

These works on either side of the Atlantic opened the flood gates for such manuals. But it would be erroneous to say that Jones or Kenyon were the first to make such attempts. Since there is always demand for such books on language "etiquette," we find, for example, that in 1687 a phonetician named Christopher Cooper published The English Teacher, or The Discover of the Art of Teaching and Learning the English Tongue. The aim of this book was to present rules of English pronunciation for "Gentlemen, Ladies, Merchants, Tradesmen, Schools and Strangers..." We see here an attempt to produce an all-purpose manual for English. Over a century before Cooper, prescriptive statements about a standard variety were made. John Hart, another phonetician, wrote in 1569 that "the flower of English tongue is used" in the Court and London region. There are various attitudes which encourage prescriptivism in pronunciation and contribute toward a "standard" form. Pronunciation manuals or dictionaries are only the instruments which are used to fulfill such functions. After all, one function of a dictionary is to provide "standard" pronunciation and the variants. And when the users of other Englishes, Indian, West Indian, or West AFrican, compile these dictionaries, they are aiming to show that they do recognize a standard pronunciation for the educated form of their variety, which may be different from RP or GA.

Pronunciation differences may be minor, and thus scarcely contribute to the problem of intelligibility, or they may create substantial problems. It may also be that the "educated" varieties of an English may be intelligible, but not some other varieties. It is possible that speaker of GA might find educated Indian English more intelligible than, say, Cockney English.

But, small or large, the differences between RP and GA are such that the cousins on the two sides of the sea can be marked as separate. Some of the more obvious speech differences may be given as illustration. Americans tend to pronounce and r-sound in words if it follows a vowel; thus the vowel is "r-coloured." In British English this r is not pronounced. Consider the following sets of words which the RP speaker will pronounce in an identical way: law, lore; paw, pore, pour; saw, sore, soar; maw, more; bawd, bored, board. To a speaker of RP, GA speakers seem to pronounce the following words in the same way: writer-rider; petal-pedal; catty-caddy; latter-ladder; utter-udder. It is, however, the difference in the pronunciation of vowels that is a distinctive feature of GA, labeled by others "the drawl of Americans." The GA speaker tends to lengthen the vowels in strongly stressed syllables, while in RP these are "slightly lengthened." This "extra length" may be "drawl" to an RP speaker, but his reduced length is "clipped" for an American speaker. This would apply to, for example, first syllables of after, daughter, terrible, and the second syllables of before, improve, control. There are other differences, or what Daniel Jones called "mispronunciations" in Indian English, but we shall not discuss these here (see Kachru 1969, 1976b). But for intelligibility, it seems rhythm is more important than is pronunciation of individual speech sounds.

The grammatical differences between the educated native varieties of English are not significant. But there are some differences which may result in ambiguities. One of these, as Strevens (1977: 150) puts it, is "the have-have got-gets gotten complex." The American use of have results in speech situations such as the following, when the other participant is British. American: "Do you have many children?" English woman: "No, only one a year" (see also Marckswardt and Quirk 1964; Foster 1976).

THE SEARCH FOR A MODEL: A DILEMMA IN PRESCRIPTIVISM

The users of other Englishes who speak it as their second language generally tend to have as a model one of the native varieties of English. The choice of a model is not easy, since there are several established models from which one may select, for example, American, Australian, or British. There are also cases when people prefer a less well-known model such as Scottish English. What does one understand by the concept "model"? One might say, as in Kachru (1977:30), that model "implies a linguistic ideal which a teacher and a learner keep in mind in imparting instruction or in learning a language." In this sense then, model entails prescriptivism and provides criteria for codification of a language and recognition of a standard. In language acquisition one strives to acquire competence which approximates the model. But one does not always accomplish it, nor is it desirable do so in all contexts of language acquisition.

Why certain models are preferred, as opposed to others, depends on historical, cultural, geographical, and attitudinal considerations. Languages which have academies for standardization, as is the case with French, may offer a clearer choice to a model seeker. English seems to have lost the opportunity of creating such an academy in the second decade of the eighteenth century, but according to some, it really was not such a serious loss. It was in 1712 that Jonathan Swift wrote a letter to "the Most Honourable Robert, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain," enclosing "A Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue" in which Swift suggested that

> The persons who are to undertake this work, will have the example of the french before them, to imitate where these have proceeded right, and to avoid their mistakes. Besides the grammar part, wherein we are allowed to be very defective, they will observe many gross improprieties, which, however authorized by practice, and grown familiar, ought to be discarded. They will find many words that deserve to be utterly thrown out of our language, many more to be corrected, and perhaps not a few long since antiquated, which ought to be restored on account of their energy and sound. (Swift 1907: 14-15)

This plea of Swift's did not suit the English temperament, and the proposal was abandoned with the death of Queen Anne who, with other influential

people, was supporting the establishment of such an academy. The proposed English academy would have been modeled after earlier ones such as the Italian Academia della Crusca (1582) or the French Academie Francaise (1635).

It was only sixty-two years later that the United States became independent, and the question of an academy in America began to be debated. John Adams even put up a proposal before the Continetal Congress in 1780 to set up a "public institution for refining, correcting, improving, and ascertaining the English language" (1856: VII, 249-50). This is exactly the echo of Swift. But as Heath (1977; 10) notes, pragmatism and universalism prevailed, and the United States disapproved of such a move, since "now the founding fathers believed the individual's freedoms to make language choices and changes represented a far more valuable political asset to the new nation than did a state decision to remove these freedoms from the individual." Therefore, a deliberate choice was made to have "a policy not to have a policy."

The debate about the merits and demerits of an American or a British standard continued. Those who supported the process of nativization had to argue with people like Pickering (1816: 67) who felt that "we have in several instances deviated from the standard of the language, as spoken and written in England at present day...so many corruptions have crept into our English." The language debate in the new nation is a fascinating story and will provide a significant historical dimension to a student of language in the USA.

My aim in this chapter is not to discuss this debate in detail, but to draw certain conclusions from the two rather similar cases of Britain and America. In the absence of an official academy, other factors contributed toward providing a model of English to those who acquired it as a second or foreign language. A particular model was selected because of colonization, economic dependence, geographical proximity, or cultural impact. Why people prefer a certain model is difficult to ascertain. It involves attitudes which researchers find elusive. One does not always know how to separate people's attitude toward a model from their actual performance.

The area is difficult to probe because one's perception of a norm and actual behavior do not necessarily correlate. In studies on attitudes toward models, one notices what may be called "linguistic schizophrenia." In India, for example, the preferred model is British English, but in actual performance, Indian English with various degrees of competence- this is a difference between the norm (the attitude toward a preferred model) and the behavior of speakers.

As we will see in the following section, American English is slowly becoming today's world language, and its impact is all-pervasive on the English-speaking world. This new trend may therefore influence the choice of a model.

THE GROWING IMPACT OF AMERICAN ENGLISH

Two hundred years ago on September 23, 1780, John Adams wrote in a casual way to a fellow American, prophesying that "English will be the most respectable language in the world and the most universally read and spoken in the next century, if not before the close of this." Adams further proclaimed that English

> is destined to be in the next and succeeding centuries more generally the language of the world than Latin was in the last or French is in the present age. The reason for this is obvious, because increasing population in America, and their universal connection and correspondence with all nations...force their language into general use...(cited in Mathews 1931: 42)

In these observations, although Adams uses the term "English," what he actually meant was "American English." At that time, naturally, Adams could not foresee all the reasons which later caused the diffusion and spread of American English, but, by and large, his prophecy has come true in our lifetime.

We must ask then: What is it that changed the picture? And why is American English no longer regarded as "a quaint, barbarous or amusing appendage to the British original" (Foster 1976: 18)? The reasons for this change in the position of American English are essentially non-linguistic, though there are some believe that there is something intrinsic about the

back), consult with, baby-sitter, round-trip. There are idioms such as to have a chip on one's shoulder, to scrape the bottom of the barrel, and out on a limb.

This intrusion of American English into British English, or for that matter into Australian English, is slow but perceptible. One can correlate generational differences with the use of the American variety. John Wain, the British novelist, has very aptly captured this linguistic difference two generations in his Hurry on Down (1959). In this novel a young man and his father are linguistically very dissimilar. The young man

> talked a different language for one thing: it was demotic English of the mid-twentieth century, rapid, slurred, essentially a city dialect and, in origin, essentially American. By contrast it was a pleasure to hear his father whose speech had been formed, along with all his other habits, before 1914...

The difference in speech and use of "American" is associated with a linguistic attitude toward American English in the new generation. In their minds American speech "is the hall-mark of the tough-guy and the he-man" (Foster 1976: 14). The changing British attitude and its acceptance of Americanisms is, of course, interesting for historical reasons. The linguistic wheel has turned full circle, and now the users of mother English are recognizing the legitimacy of the offspring.

In France, Spain, and Germany - in spite of puristic resistance to the American influence on French, Spanish, and German - one notices an intrusion of Americanisms in the press, at social gatherings, and on the radio and television. In a number of countries in Asia and Africa, the Englishization (or shall we say Americanization?) of the native languages has become a symbol of elitism and westernization, and for the vocal new generations, westernization represents modernization. In the last fifty years, America has become a phenomenon of envy and emulation for the new and emerging nations, for it combines technology, scientific progress, and, above all, power. The ubiquitous American Tourist has contributed toward the spread of American English as much as Hollywood movies and student and faculty training programs. Even in the erstwhile British colonies,

English language or the American variety of English which entitles it to this unique position. One has to make it clear at the outset that there is no validity in arguments that are based on ethnocentrism and linguistic ignorance. Consider, for example, Laird's speculation (1970: 480) that "the English language is spreading through the world partly because it is a good language with a simple grammar and a vast and highly flexible vocabulary..." An even more startling observation is found in Barnett (1964: 9) who smugly proclaims:

> Contrary to popular supposition, languages evolve in the direction of simplicity. English, being a highly evolved, cosmopolitan, sophisticated language, has been refined and revised, planed down and polished through centuries of use, so that today it is far less complicated than any primitive tongue.

Then Barnett has a dig at "primitive" people and adds: "Some of the most difficult languages in the world are spoken by some of the world's most backward people - e.g. the Australian Aborigines, the Eskimos, the Hottentots, and the Yahgan Indians of Tierra del Fuego." One might ask: difficult for whom? The hypothesis that English is accepted abroad on the basis of its simplicity or its sophistication is not acceptable. It is therefore surprising that such a view was held even by a distinguished linguist, Jespersen (1905). In his view:

> the English language is a methodical, energetic businesslike and sober language that does not care much for finery and elegance, but does care for logical consistency and is opposed to any attempt to narrow-in life by police regulation and strict rules either of grammar or lexicon. As the language is, so also is the nation...One need not be a great prophet to predict that in the near future the number of English-speaking people will increase considerably. It must be a source of gratification to mankind that the tongue spoken by two of the greatest powers of the world is so noble, so rich, so pliant, so expressive and so interesting. (Cited in Fishman 1977f: epigraph)

This shows that Anglophile linguists can get as much carried away as do nonlinguists who know little about how language works.

What actually happens is that language and power go together. American English is accepted for the power and superiority which America as a nation

has acquired in the areas of science, technology, commerce, military affairs, and politics since Adams wrote those prophetic words. After all, in the 1950s people started to learn Russian. This seemed a natural reaction after the phenomenal success of Sputnik I and the sudden evidence of the technological advance of the Russians. The USA has become the center of Western political, economic, and technological innovations and activities. Therefore, as we will see below, it is not surprising that even the speakers of mother English in Britain have become tolerant of the encroachment of American English into their English, as have the Australians who earlier took mother English as the model. One notices this slow but definite encroachment in several semantic areas in British English. Let us consider the areas of film, television, theater, and advertising as typical examples. Foster (1976: 20) gives pride of place "to film as a vehicle of American linguistic influence...which has brought...transatlantic speech to the British hearth itself. Film, television, and theater have resulted in use of the language with American shades of meaning, for example, "when a film is aid to feature an actor who has been built up by his company" (Foster 1976: 20). The theater has provided words such as stooge and double-talk. In advertising and salesmanship, Americans certainly excel and demonstrate "the transatlantic love of grandiloquence." American techniques are followed, and words which were exclusively American (e.g. sales talk or sales resistance) may be heard in Piccadilly Circus or Bond Street.

The British press is opening up to American innovations. The style of typically American new magazines like **Time** and **Newsweek** shows up in British newspapers; for example, the name of a town in the genitive is no more a typically American stylistic feature (e.g. **Newcastle's Central Station, London's Victoria Coach Station**). The same tendency is seen in the use of verbs such as ban 'prohibit', **crash** 'collide', cut 'reduce', probe and quiz 'investigate', and sue 'prosecute'.

It is not only in the use of single words that one notices this change; the conversation of the British is also spiced with set phrases which are considered to be of "American provenance," for example. I wouldn't know, let's face it, simple as that, by and large, right now, way over (-down,-

American English is having its impact. One can notice it in the newspapers from Ibadan, New Delhi, or Singapore.

Worldly success and elitism continue to be associated with westernization, and specifically with a knowledge of English. The refrain of a Ghanaian song succinctly sums it up. A person is successful if he has been-to, Jaguar, fridgeful. The term been-to (feminine, beentress) refers to a person who has been to England, indicating a status symbol; the possession of a Jaguar car shows prestige; and fridgeful marks class and affluence, indicating a refrigerator filled with food. In recent years been-to (or beentress) includes America too, and compete ice in American English. The Indian ism England-returned is parallel to the Ghanaian been-to, but now it has less currency. The term America-returned is heard more often, conveying the same prestige, class, and status as did England-returned during the colonial days. Matrimonial advertisements also seem to prefer America-returned bridegrooms. And a person who is America-returned naturally comes with "Americanized" English.

It should not be inferred from the preceding discussion that an American traveling in the world will find, on various continents, American English used with the Midwestern or East Coast accent; far from it - the English language, American or British, will continue to be nativized and undergo changes in new contexts and new uses. Its uses will vary, as they do now, from an internationally understood "educated English," to several types of Englishes which are not necessarily meant for native speakers of English. These varieties have national and regional uses, developed because of the specific linguistically and culturally heterogeneous contexts of these societies: functionally, these "national varieties" are an essential tool of human communication. A monolithic universal English, therefore, is rather difficult to imagine. It would also be uninteresting to live in a society which used, as Firth says (1930: 196), "a shameful negative English which effectually masks social and local origin and is a suppression of all that is vital in speech."

FURTHER READING

There is no single volume which provides an introduction to English in its global context its native and non-native varieties and the diffusion of American English. The studies of international or universal languages concentrate primarily on artificial languages as opposed to natural languages. An introduction to international auxiliary languages is given in Guerard 1922 and in Jacob 1947. Part I entitled "International perspective on English" in Fishman, Cooper, and Contrad 1977 provides a detailed overview of the spread of English and its functions, with an exhaustive bibliography. Jones 1965 provides survey of the "triumph" of English and "a history of ideas concerning the English tongue - its nature, use, and improvement - during the period 1476 - 1660." In the spread of languages, colonialism has played an important role. This aspect is discussed in Calvet 1974, Fishman 1977f, and Spencer 1971b.

There are, of course, several studies on the historical and linguistic aspects of the native varieties of English. The classic work of Mencken 1919 can still be read with pleasure and profit. A "corrected, enlarged, and re-written" edition appeared in 1936, and two supplements were added to it in 1945 and 1948; an abridged edition appeared in 1977. Marckwardt 1958 is a more recent and shorter introduction to American English. Partridge and Clark 1951 is "an informal, not an academic, history of English since 1900." There is also a section on "Dominions English" with subsections on English in Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and India. The differences and similarities between American and British English are presented in very interesting and informative conversations in Marckwardt and Quirk 1964, and Strevens 1972, 1977 discusses the main differences between the two varieties. In Pyles 1971 there is a very useful and detailed chapter on "Recent British and American English." A number of papers, especially the first two in Quirk 1972 discuss "linguistic bonds across the Atlantic." Foster 1976 (first published in 1968) has a long and informative chapter on the impact of America on British English. It is worth reading. An earlier paper by Foster entitled "Recent American influence on Standard English" (1956) provides numerous examples with detailed discussion. One can find a detailed treatment of Australian English in Morris 1898, Baker 1966, and Ramson 1966. A good treatment of

Australian and New Zealand varieties of English is also presented in Turner 1966, and in the papers edited by Ramson 1970 which cover "Australasian" English.

The non-native varieties of English have been discussed mainly in individual papers published in scholarly journals or in chapters in books. Smith 1980 includes several studies on such varieties with an extensive bibliography. An overall view of the non-native varieties is given in Quirk "English today: a world view" (in Quirk 1972), Bailey and Robinson 1973, and Kachru 1976a, 1980. The following studies or collected works are recommended for specific non-native varieties. These studies also provide bibliographical references for further reading: Africa in general: Spencer 1963. Achebe 1973, McGregor 1971; West Africa: Spencer 1971a; Ghana: Sey 1973; Nigeria: Bamgbose 1971; India: Rao 1954, Gokak 1964, Kachru 1965, 1966, 1969, 1973, 1975, 1976b, 1978, 1979b, Nihalani, Tongue, and Hosali 1978; Malaysia: Tongue 1974; Singapore: Platt 1975, 1976, Crewe 1977; South Asia: Kachru 1969; Philippines: Llamzon 1969; West Indies: Ramchand 1973.

Attitudes toward various types of Englishes and their sociolinguistic motivations have been discussed in Kachru 1976a, Heath 1977, Kahane and Kahane 1977, and, most recently, Finegan 1980.

TYPING ON THE PHONE:
HOW THE DEAF ACCOMPLISH TTY CONVERSATIONS

Jeffrey E. Nash
Anedith Nash

ABSTRACT

Transcriptions from teletypewriter conversations are described and analyzed as supplemental to the pre-existing social organization of the deaf community. The features of TTY conversations include patterned "errors", openings and closing, and compensatory devices (for the limitations imposed by the system). Within these features such phenomena as typing-through, short-cutting, and using pidgin (or sign-influenced) English are identified. A remarkable range of meaningful and genuinely personal exchanges is accomplished by TTY users. Several relationships among the characteristics of TTY users and the features of their conversations are depicted and related to symbolic interactionist literature.

DEAF PEOPLE AND THE TELEPHONE

People who are deaf are restricted in the use of a primary instrument of communication in modern society, the telephone. A number of deaf people, however, can and do use the telephone system with the aid of a teletypewriter (TTY) or other telecommunication device (TDD)[1]. By coupling this device to a telephone they may type messages to others whose telephones are similarly equipped. Instead of talking on the phone, they type on it.

Typed phone conversations provide interesting data for the documentation of how membership in a symbolic community grounds the generation of specific interactional strategies that allow an adaptation of the cultural and social competence of deaf people to a restricted medium.

Acts of typing on the phone can prove especially informative about how meanings are ascribed to symbols. The restraints upon TTY communications

seem severe. First, the absence of "vocal" and gestural cues for the accomplishment of an organization for conversation suggest that TTY messages might be telegraphic and nonexpressive (cf. Benderly 1980: 155). Couple this expectation with the observation that the deaf as a group are not highly literate (Moores 1978: 246-250), and their use of the TTY might seem restricted also by their lack of skills in reading comprehension and skills in written composition - if one accepts the usual educationist assessments. Finally, the nature of the typing machine imposes strict time limitations on communication; it takes longer to type than to speak or sign.

Given these preliminary observations, one might expect a less than rich corpus from TTY conversations. The contrary is the case. It is precisely the restrictions of the written language, the machine, and literacy that allow a documentation of how social interactive exchanges may serve as the foundation for the imputing and imputation of meanings in messages on the surface so mechanical. Rather than conceiving of the messages as typed speech, we see them as a medium for symbolic exchange. In this way we can employ Goffman's notions about the accommodative features of talk as pivotal to the structure of communicative interactions (Goffman 1981: 501). Through rituals and rules, "the establishment, maintenance, and responsiveness of participants to the 'face' claimed by others assures a working acceptance of the claims that others make on their behalf" (Williams 1980:230). Thus, occasions of communicating embody controlling features to the extent that these "structural features" accommodate mutually putative identities. If talk is a medium for the display of identities, that talk should contain information about the identities, proffered for the occasion. Esoteric and restricted media of communication still operate according to a mutually accommodative requirement for displays of identity. As Butler showed in his analysis of how prisoners of war communicated to each other by tapping on the walls of their cells, a highly restricted medium often calls for the explicit use of backgrounded cultural knowledge for the accomplishment of a world of conversation. (Butler 1977) By describing and analyzing how membership (backgrounded cultural knowledge) operates in phone conversation, we can further our

understanding both of deafness as a social phenomenon and of the social nature of conversations.

TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS

Telephones are an ubiquitous feature of everyday life in modern society. Ball first suggested that the organization of phone conversations exhibits "structural" features (1968). He identified several consequences of phone talk and some rules for the use of the phone. Perhaps his most relevant observation to the present analysis is that vocal-only communication frees telephonic communicators to "concentrate on their conversational presentation" and allows them to avoid "aspects of appearance which might be not only irrelevant but also damaging should they be seen or reacted to by the conversational other" (Ball 1968:71). The telephone, then, has an "equalitarian intensity" to it, according to Ball. This tendency of the phone to make all its users equal does not extend to the general population of phone users. Instead, the use of the phone is governed by widely distributed knowledge about its "proper" use, including the practice of having "unlisted" numbers and limited access to high status members of society only through switchboards or secretaries. These practices curb the potentially disruptive effects of the use of the telephone.

A central feature of the telephone is that it allows access to "private" life. This openness to a summons by anyone has elicited elaborate devices for identification and recognition of phone conversational partners (Schegloff 1979). So adept are phone users at the rules of discourse that in practice the differences between telephone and face-to-face communications are subtle and qualitative.

Much of the research contrasting telephone and face-to-face communications indicates that both are potentially equal in transfer of information between parties. But whenever the parties are in conflict or engaged in highly personal conversations, the medium does make some difference. Nevertheless, most telephone conversations <u>supplement</u> rather than displace face-to-face interchanges. Persons using the phone retain impressions from previous experiences, or create impressions of the persons with whom they are conversing. Ongoing and intimate relationships based on telephone

conversations alone are rare. The same may be said for TTY conversations. Here, however, the supplemental character of the exchange is even more pronounced. "Typing" seems to depend especially strongly on "backgrounded" impressions of persons that have been gained through face-to-face exchanges (cf. Reid 1977:386-414).

From Schegloff we learn that in human interaction identification and recognition of others is largely accomplished by visual appearance (1979:26). When personal recognition of others occurs and especially when it is potentially reciprocal, a subtle or elaborate display of its accomplishment is made and constitutes a "social" rather than a "cognitive" event.

In the use of the telephone, opening talk deals with the issues of identification and recognition. Sometimes this is a normal matter of sequences; other times it is informal and is worked through in subsequent conversation. TTY conversations in the face of them appear formal, stilted, and conditioned solely by the nature of the machine, eg: /HELLO JEFF HERE GA ['go ahead'] HI THIS IS ROY GOODRICH IA AM CALLING TO.../.

However, this is not an accurate impression. The supplemental character of such conversations - with regard to greetings, identifications, the use of language variants, and tension releases - reveals that TTY exchanges plan an important symbolic role in the deaf community. It is the purpose of this paper to know how such conversations operate using knowledge garnered from membership in the community to supplement messages so that the TTY exchanges are indeed "social" as well as literary.

THE DATA

Information on which this description of TTY conversations is grounded was made available partly by the nature of the machine itself. Typing to another person may leave a permanent record of the conversation at both ends of the exchange. Old fashion machines use roles of yellow paper, on which parties type to each other. Newer devices (TDD's) employ a display panel or screen on which the words appear and disappear. Unless the

parties wish, and only if their TDD's are equipped with a memory tape, no record of the conversation remains. Both the convenience and the potential embarrassment of having one's words recorded are self-evident. Names, addresses, phone numbers, and directions need not be memorized or written down on a separate piece of paper. Likewise, messages can be left for a third party not on hand at the time of the call. All of the messages that serve as data for this study come from paper rolls of TTY machines, still the most widely used among the deaf.

Specifically the materials come from a collection of TTY phone conversations that transpired over a phone from a single household. Messages were saved, file, and sorted according to categories of relevant sociolinguistic content. The entire corpus consists of well over 250 conversations involving deaf adults typing to hearing adults, hearing adults to deaf children, deaf children to deaf children, and deaf adults with other deaf adults. The vast majority of adult conversations were between a deaf and a hearing person. The range of topics covered in the conversations varied from everyday affairs, like arranging transportation, to the discussion of matters of vital importance to the deaf community. Certainly such data amounts to the equivalent of information obtained from a "phone tap". However, a significant difference exists: persons who use TTY's know that a record of the conversation is being created by the machines; so it is unlikely that self-incriminating or embarrassing material will appear on the record. Still, special care has been taken throughout this paper to preserve the anonymity of the persons who typed on the phone.

FEATURES OF TTY CONVERSATIONS

ERRORS

An obvious feature of TTY transcripts is the number of apparent "mistakes" made by conversationalists. Children, naturally, make the most frequent mistakes; eg: /OK I WANT TO KNOW WHAT YOUR SON A NAMES KS XXIS GA?/ A more elaborate example comes from a ten-year-old deaf girl and her ten-year-old deaf boy friend:

/I WROTE A LETTER TO MY DAD AND MOM IN HEBREW I FOUND OUT HEROOOHEBREW IN MY GRAND PA AND GRANDMA'S DICORANTICY SMX SOMETIMES I WRITE ENGLISH LETTERS BECAUSE I CAN RXXCANT FINGX FIND OUT THOSE WORDS SO YOU KNOW SOME HEBREW LETTERS ? GA/ /NO I DON'T KNOW ANY BUT ONE I WILL TELL TXX YOU ONE OK THE ONE I X IS GIFUUR A /

Errors are a feature of adult conversations as well, eg:

/BILL TOLD HER THAT THE BOY SAX STAREXX STATED I FELT BAD/.

/I READ YOUR PAER AND THINK IT INTERESTING.../.

These errors are of several types: (1) simple typos, (2) errors influenced by encoding (missed letters, words), (3) corrections, and (4) compensatory devices. The first three categories comprise a class of phenomena that requires information about mind-eye-hand coordination. Why some people more than others make errors that they recognize as such and even, on occasion, pause to correct is a question properly belonging to psychology. However, parties' social responses to these errors make up a predominant feature of TTY conversations.

Two options are open to the conversationalist who is aware of having made a mistake (The presence of typed copy in front of one naturally makes awareness almost automatic): (1) "Typing through", in which a typist simply continues, ignoring the error. In speech this phenomenon has been called "talking through", and it can be accomplished so effectively that the hearers are unaware of the error (Goffman 1981:214). In typing, however, the error is frozen and on display. The typist who types through depends upon the "reader" to note the error is an error and correct it in reading (eg: PAER is to read as PAPER). Typing through also assumes that both parties will not judge one another harshly as being illiterate or poor at spelling. The present data indicate that "typing through" is employed frequently by male TTY users with both male and female readers, or whenever the conversationalists are "good friends". Apparently TTY etiquette covers allowing parties a range of errors inseparable from the production of a message. (2) Corrections in TTY procedures are partially formalized; the symbols /XXXX/ are read as 'cancel the last character before X (ignore it

please) and attend only to what follows'. Often female TTY users will correct every error, even if the word or phrase is legible, ie: could have been typed through. For instance, contrast this message from a female, /THEY TOLD ME TO MEET SAME IN THE LOBY XX LOBBY/, with this which is typed through, /FOR GENE HE H HAS MIXED FEELINGS ABOUT.../.

Compensatory devices are "shortcuts" that are more or less formal and used in orderly ways by TTY typists. Such devices or strategies can be turn-taking markers like /GA/ indicating the termination of a sequence or /SK/ conveying a desire to finish the conversational exchange[2]. We will discuss devices further under the topics of identity establishment and openings and closings. Of course, these "codes" are not errors at all in the sense of encoding influences, corrections, or typing through. However, there is a class of compensatory devices that are so highly situational that to persons not familiar with the person typing they may appear to be errors. Some shortcuts are clearly decodable and carry a hint of personal humorous style: /HOW IS U/. Others are the invention of abbreviations <u>in the course of a conversation</u>; eg: /STAY/ becomes /STY/, /SEE/ is typed /SE/, /MINUTE/ become /MIN/; and standard abbreviations are used, eg: /GOVT/.

But the instance to which we refer is exemplified in:

(a) /HELLO HEFF HANSON AND HOW ARE YOU WHERE IS AN GA/, or

(b) /T TRIED CALL YOU BEFORE YOU LEAVE HOUSE AT NOON OR LINE BUSY I CAN'T TELL BECAUSE OUR BLINKING FUSE IS BURNED OUT/.

These utterances entail, in (a), an error (type, HEFF should be JEFF) and a shortcut /AN/ for Anedith; and in (b), a syntactical maneuver that collapses a potentially long sentence into a medium length one. A translation of (b) would read: "I tried to call you before you left your house at noon, but I could not tell if you didn't answer or if your line was busy, because my TTY is not functioning properly. The fuse for the circuit that blinks the light when the line is busy is burned out".

Compensatory devices like shortcuts in spellings are used to hasten conversational pace. They may become "restricted codes" in the sense that only parties to the conversation can decode them, or more generally, only

those with knowledge of the practice of the compensating can do so. A party in a conversation errs in a strict sense if the mistyping calls for correction or typing through, or when the shortcuts employed interfere with comprehension, but employs the TTY effectively whenever the reader "figures out" the message from the coded remarks. The "figuring out" process requires less time than would a complete retyping of the intended message. thus, "error" here has a special sense.

Table 1 shows the distribution of errors for sex of the typist. There is a clear significant difference ($X^2 = 16.91$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.001$) between male and female typists. However, a case-by-case analysis reveals that often males and females correct more when they are conversing about something they regard mutually as important, a problem with an offspring at school, money matters, and so on. It is probable that males are less adept at typing and possibly less skilled in written language than females. We hesitate to make too much of the observed sex difference, since females did exhibit more "typing through" when conversing informally with close friends. Males simply use the TTY less often and condense conversations. They prefer to discuss important matters face-to-face. Be this as it may, the distribution of errors in TTY conversations is a fertile are for further research. In addition, these data are suggestive of relationships consistent with other reported research on male-female conversational styles. For example, males do more correcting when conversing with females than with other males ($X^2 = 12.44$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.01$). And females seem to become slightly more concerned with "corrections" ($X^2 = 2.61$, $df = 2$, not significant) when they converse with males. Zimmerman and West documented the tendency among males to interrupt females in conversations (1975); and Trudgill reports that females generally regard their speech, and hence their language, as more nearly standard than that of their male counterparts (1974). Males seem comfortable with in-group talk; in this case, such linguistic "in-group" conversing would be indexed as "typing through" error.

Errors	Male Conversations N = 38*		Female Conversations N = 57*		Male/Female Conversations N = 16* Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Typing Through	87	54	78	32	36	69	14	23
Corrections	32	14	146	59	14	23	38	63
Devices	51	32	20	9	5	8	8	14

OPENINGS AND CLOSING

Compared to telephone talk, TTY sequences are more formal. Identity is established in the first turn and turn-taking is marked by the use of /GA/. Identity recognition is accomplished essentially in two ways, first name only replies, and official resignations. By far the most frequently used in our corpus is first name. Hence, even a highly educated deaf man will answer his phone with /HI ROB HERE GA/. Last names are used only in cases of breached etiquette:

/WHAT GA
WHO ARE YOU WHY YOU CAL ME WHAT DO YOU WANT GA
I AM JACK SMITH.../

Or in a formal presentation, a business matter, community announcement, or self-introduction, last names may be used. No doubt this use of the intimate, first name derives from the relatively small number of TTY owners (in one telephone area), and from the fact that most calls are intercommunity; ie: among persons who know each other as members of the deaf community. First name usage also compensates for and contrasts with the "frozen" style of the TTY greeting ritual:

/——— HERE GA/.

Variations can be observed in greeting exchanges, yet these seem to embody the juxtoposition of informality with the limitations of a typing machine. Consider the second turn,

/GOOD EVENING IS MR NASH HOME? GA/.

This kind of greeting on the TTY is exceedingly unusual and signals that "something is up". The third turn in this conversation reads,

/YES PLEASE WAIT CAN I TELL HIM WHO IS CALLING QQ GA/.

Fourth turn,

/VYES CERTAINLY IM SORRY I DID NOT MENTION IT MY NAME IS—
— ——— (full name) I AM WITH EQUITABLE LIFE.../.

After this a pleasant conversation ensued about mistaken identities.

Variations in formal greetings can be seen in the use of the abbreviated formal greeting for businesses that have TTY's for deaf employees, eg:

/THIS IS KAREN AT TARGET GA/;

and finally in the persistence of first name greetings by those who answer calls to a residential school for the deaf. The following etiquette-breached conversation indicates the mechanisms used to establish identity?

/HELLO ANN HERR GA
IS MARK THER GA
WHO IS CALLING PLEASE GA
WHY I ASK FOR MARK FIRST GA
I WANT TO KNOW WHO I AM TALKING TO SO I CAN EXPLAIN WHERE MARK IS GA
I BET HE IS STILL AT THE MD GA
MAYBE YOU HAVE THE WRONG NUMBER GA
WHAT IS YOUR PHONE NUMBER GA
I WANT TO KNOW WHO I AM TALING TO BEFORE I DISXXX I DISCUSS PLEASE WHO IS CALLING GA
WELL DEE DEE GA
SKSKSK/

A follow-up call by the caller a few minutes later cleared up the misunderstanding that /MD/ meant /MSD/ which is an abbreviation of the name of a local school for the deaf and established that /DEE DEE/ was not intended as teasing but was the caller's nickname. The conversation then proceeded and ended cordially.

Here there is a confounding between a breached rule of TTY etiquette (failing to use a self-identifying term) and the use of typing-through practice with a party who does not know the identity of the caller. Hence when identity is established, the answerer knows what was meant in the first call.

As with telephone conventions, the rules for greetings may be temporarily suspended in moments of excitement, and a message may be blurted out only to make necessary the establishment of identity in subsequent turns (cf. Mehan & Wood 1975:126). Or rules may be violated out of mistaken assessment of the intentions of the caller toward the answerer or vice versa. In addition, there are idiosyncratic uses of the phone that either are not sufficient to disrupt the use of the TTY or are excusable on the grounds of knowledge about the person so using the TTY; eg:

/HIT THE LINE THIS IS TOM GA/

and

/HELLO WILL YOU TELL ME THE MSD TELEPHONE NUMBER GA WHO IS THIS..../.

and further

/HELLO JEFF HEREGA
....
HELLO JEFF HERE GA
JEFF WHO GA
JEFF NASH GA
IS MARK S WIFE ATX THERE GA
YES WAIT HELLO THIS IS MARK'S MOTHER WHO IS CALLING PLEASE GA
DIANA HOLSTON I D LIKE TO SPEAK TO MARK"S WIFE GA
I THINK YOU HAVE THE WRONG NUMBER MARK IS EIGHT YEARS OLD GA

The components of turn taking seem remarkably similar for those used in vocal exchanges (cf. Mehan & Wood 1975:123-134). They are:

1. Greeting terms
2. Answers that give personal identity
3. Answerer's personal answers or intended answerer's name and address terms in assertive or exclamatory style
4. Mention of first topic or reasons for call
5. Requests to speak to another
6. Questions or re-identification of answerer
7. Jokes or joke versions of one of the above.

The majority of second turns are combinations of 1 and 2 and 3.

Identities are also established through secondary information sources. ie: without a direct reference to name, personal identity, or organizational affiliation. Just as one learns to recognize "voices" over the phone, it is possible to recognize a caller by the speed and rhythm of the TTY. Of course, this is a far less precise process than voice identification, but there is enough variability in the typing pace, pauses, and rhythm so that within a small group of TTY users one can become fairly accurate in associating a person with a "type of typing". In general, females tend to type faster and more steadily than males, better educated deaf men faster and more steadily than those less well educated; however, even within the boundaries of typing competence, there are still ways to identify a caller. A key punch operator or a woman who types as a part of her occupational tasks may push the machine to the limits in a steady rhythmic typing;

another TTY user may type deliberately, still another in a spasmodic patter than alternates between fast and slow paces.

These typing styles are distinctive and regular enough to function as identifiers within a close circle of TTY users. An example of this phenomenon comes from a caller deciphering a small child's answer to the TTY phone's summons. This answerer was too young to type or read (four years old), but he understood how to active the TTY. He answered the phone and engaged the caller Jim in conversation:

/MMOIUJKMNH
HELLO JIM IS YOUR DAD HOME GA
KJMNYUGUCFTRFD
/ARE YOU IKJHGUBPCDREDSZXC* ARE YOU JASON GA
LKJNMBYT
PLEASE TELL YOUR DAD GA/

*This looks as if the answerer had interrupted the caller's transmission. (WCS).

COMPENSATORY DEVICES

The limitations of a typing machine come principally from the time and linearity that the use of written form requires. The TTY user compensates for these through a variety of ingenious adaptations. Several of these have already been discussed under the heading "errors", abbreviations, formalizations, and typing through. To this list we add plays on words/signs, humour, and the idiom or medium of language itself.

The transcriptions in our corpus are replete with /HAHA, HUH WOW, HOW ARE YA, VELLY PHINE, UR 'your', BRRR (for cold weather), TOOOOOOO WINDY, BYE IF NUTTIN ELSE/. These "plays" ad fluency to messages and lighten the tasks of reader and typist. They also save time, allowing the parties to read through one another's messages to get intent. When asked if she were confident in her interpreting skills — /DID YOU HAVE PROBLEMS REVERSING ME Q GA/; an interpreter replied, /OF COURSE NOT HUM GA/. To which the deaf party retorted: /HUM HAT WHAT U MEAN BY THAT HUH HUM HUH GA/. The interpreter meant that she really had no problem understanding the man, but she knew that this man had great pride in his ASL skills and felt that only

highly skilled interpreters could work for him; therefore, the interpreter had inadvertently left an opening for judgement about her skills (with the word HUM) that the deaf man took to mean, as revealed later in the conversation, that he should find his own interpreter. In this case, the devices increased tension and "put down" the person who had employed them.

Many of the devices are intended to have humorous overtones. Indeed these devices function to add fluency by relieving the typist from, eg, the conventions of English spelling. One does not hear the instant response to a joke, pun, or other play on words or signs. A party must wait for the success of a device to be revealed or to unfold in subsequent conversation. Hence, "bad" jokes can act as a lubricant for the conversation, as a way to respond without getting to the specific message at hand.

Closely related to humour is the management of politeness. Three devices are commonly used for this purpose. You can indicate a practical need offered as sufficiently important to terminate conversing; eg: /I HAVE TO GO — HAVE TO GO TO BED GA OR SK/. By adding both the turn-taking and the termination marker the typist has given the other the options of taking a last transmission and closing down, or if something really urgent remains pending, opening up the conversation for further turns. When conversations become too long or the caller has a reputation for long TTY talking, one can type, /I HAVE ONLY A SHORT TIME/. To all responses as one's turn one can also type, /FINE GA OR SK/ (in effect: 'that's all I have to say, but go ahead if you have more'). And finally, when one become desperate, he or she can type about a really urgent matter: /BABY'S CRYING/ or /JIM JUST CAME IN LET ME CALL YOU BACK SK/.

A particularly interesting case of managing politeness shows that the answerer often depends upon the caller's knowledge of the deaf community in order to have a delaying tactic honoured. In hearing society watching a TV program ordinarily carries little "gravity". TV watching is so ordinary that to say you cannot talk on the phone because you are watching a program might suggest to the caller either that you are impolite or that you are not interested in carrying on a conversation. Possibly a Superbowl or

World Series game or a special program might be used as a polite excuse not to talk. In the deaf community, however, the conventions may be quite different; eg: a deaf man answered his phone with this:

> /PLEASE GIVE YOUR NAME AND NUMBER AND I WILL CALL YOU AFTER AA CAPTIONED TV PROGRAM GA OR SK/.

Captioned programs are still rare and no one who understands that would fail to honour this request as genuine.

When the idiom of TTY conversations is under discussion, two observations are in order: the written language used can be located on a continuum from "like ASL" to "like English"; and the formality of the conversation is related to this shift in code.

On the extreme "like ASL" end is the phenomenon of "written deaf English". In this English letters and even lexicon are used in syntactical constructions that are sometimes those of English and sometimes those of ASL, eg:

> /THAT FANTASTIC I NEVER SAW BEFORE LAST YEAR AND I ENJOYED CAMP..../

> /YOU KNOW THAT INTERPRETER WORK FOR AFTER LUNCH BUT SOME ONE NEED IN INTERPRETER HELP US BUT SUPERVISOR REFUSE TO PAY FOR LUNCH HOUR BUT SUPERVISOR DOUBTS ABOUT IT/ "We need an interpreter over the lunch hour, but the supervisor doubts that we can get money to pay the interpreter."

Written deaf English has been identified as a variant of a pidginization process (Woodword 1973, Wilbur 1979). It is not surprising that it should be widely used by the deaf in TTY exchanges. In fact, this variant form of English is obviously well suited to the restrictions of the TTY. It allows the typist to use native language skills in ASL syntax with the lexicon of English to facilitate communication. In the general linguistic environment of the deaf much code switching takes place, according to judgments about the formality of topics being discussed or to the status of persons involved in the conversations. The diglossic character - variety adjusted to topic and situation - of this switching have been discussed by Stokoe (1969) and Reilly and McIntire (1980). To the extent that the TTY represents a supplement to communication patterns of deaf people, the same patterns that have been documented in general interaction should occur here

as well. Although the literature is less than unanimous, Washabaugh reports evidence indicating that shifts in the direction of English are considered more formal, higher in status, than ASL communications that are more convivial or contact oriented (1981a).

On the basis of current literature and according to our general notion that TTY conversations represent a supplement to a more general interactive pattern of competence, the hypo-thesis that shifts in formality of the topic being addressed by parties to a TTY conversation should be associated to movements toward English-like construction seems plausible. To provide a tentative assessment of this hypothesis, we coded sentences, by the turn, according to their ASL or English likenesses and by the degree of formality or seriousness implied in the topic of conversation. For example, the sentences below were coded "toward ASL":

/SUPERVISOR DOUBTS ABOUT IT/
/SO I MUST TO CALL TO MY GIRLFRIEND/;

but this one was coded "toward English":

/BOY THE WEATHER WAS TERRIBLY HOT THE KIDS WERE NOT IN GOOD MOOD AT SCHOOL

Regarding topics, arrangements for visits, pick-up schedules for children, and affairs dealing with leisure time pursuits were classified as informal; while job-related matters, problems with children at school, and money affairs or business obligations were coded as formal. Hence, in the above examples, the first was coded formal and the second informal.

Table 2 shows the relationships observed in these data ($X^2 = 10.06$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.01$). A certain amount of caution is in order interpreting this table. As with all the data reported, most of the conversations were between hearing and deaf parties. We conjecture that a corpus with all deaf parties might show a greater tendency toward ASL across all topics, but further research is needed to locate the distribution of these code-switching phenomena among the levels of education, use of private vs. institutional TTY phones, etc. Still the data do indicate that at least these conversations manifest shifts in code consistent with a diglossic variable[3].

(N = 360)*	TOPICS OF CONVERSATIONS	
	Formal	Informal
Towards English	175	58
Towards ASL	38	125

*Only conversations of ten or more turns were analyzed.

TABLE 2: Code Switching and topics of conversations.

THE TTY AND THE DEAF COMMUNITY

Although much has been written about the deaf community (Higgins 1980, Padden 1980), little information exists about the role that TTY conversations play in that community. Our data indicate that TTY exchanges supplement the symbolic nature of the community. First, deaf children, often even of hearing parents, use the TTY phone primarily to make contact with one another. They are, however, severely restricted in the effective use of the machine and the medium. Many breaches of phone etiquette were committed by children in the conversations in our corpus. Some of these were inadvertent; others were intentional abuses of the phone. eg: making contact with others to type "dirty" words.

More often children seem to develop an adeptness at using the TTY to establish symbolic ties. Such conversations do not really have a content or topic. They are more akin to the prattle or "silly talk" of children. eg: /IT IS APUNK SCHOOL - AND THICK HEADEDSCHOOL RIGHT GA/. Or they simply inform one another of presents received at birthday or Christmas

time, or talk about summer plans. (Many of the conversations take place over the summer, since the children are not seeing each other in school.) Extreme examples of contact typing consists of lines of /POWPOWPOW!!!!!/ or comic book techniques depicting sounds or fights. Although these uses are often discouraged by parents, the children do use them to maintain contact and establish themselves as members in some sort of the deaf community. "Symbolic tying" is marked by the use of elaborate devices such as making designs on the TTY by using X's, spaces, and line feed (one can almost draw pictures in this manner). This kind of function allows children and adults to reach out into the larger community and establish the presence of other deaf people. The actual exchange of information, if any, is secondary to the function of making contact.

A refinement of this contact function can be seen in adult conversations. Here matters regarded as of importance to the community may be passed on via the TTY. Such a conversation may look like this:

> /HELLO ANN HERE GA
> RAY SMITH ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF DEAF SERVICE FOR THE STATE OF MINN THE DAVIS VS CONVERSE COLLEGE CASE WAS RULED UPON TODAY.....ON CHANNEL 5 AT 6:00 AND 10:00 DIRECTOR WILL COMMENT ON THIS....GA
> THANK YOU FOR THE INFORMATION WE WILL WATCH SK

Sometimes very long conversations or messages will be relayed over the TTY. And of course, gossip functions as a symbolic tie. For hearing people who may be included in these message networks, requests may be made of them that force them to "join" the community. For example, a deaf man called to ask a hearing woman friend to phone his employer and relay the message that he would not be reporting for work because of sickness. The woman replied, /SORRY YOU FEEL POORLY FLU IS GOING AROUND GA/. The deaf man then typed, /NOT FLU WRONG TIME OF YEAR I AM PAINTING MY HOUSE AND MUST FINISH BEFORE WEEKEND SO CAN DRIVE TO DEAF CAMP/. This kind of request is not often made, but it does illustrate that owning a TTY can imply more than simply having a phone. It also means that one is accessible to the ongoings of the community in so far as they are reflected in the use of the TTY.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Very little attention has been given to TTY conversations as social phenomena. Service agencies and those who advocate expanding opportunities for deaf people stress the necessity of contact with public service institutions for deaf people; that is, they see the TTY as an instrument tying the deaf individual to emergency services, businesses, and routine everyday affairs of the hearing community. Certainly TTY's do have the potential to bring deaf people into contact with those agencies and social services that otherwise would be quite inaccessible or require the intercession of a hearing person.

In this paper, however, we have focused on the social organizations within the community of TTY conversations. In this light typing on the phone becomes more than a way that deaf people can contact the police, fire department, or emergency medical services. TTY use supplements the symbolic networks that exist within the deaf community. Far from being simply typing on the phone, TTY conversations manifest features both similar and dissimilar to voice-to-voice phone conversations. Similarities have been noted in openings and closings, organization of turn taking, establishment of identity, and the use of the phone for making contact with others of shared social identity. Dissimilarities or distinctive features are essentially matters of degree in the formality of the conversational forms, special use of backgrounded experiences, and the development of devices to add fluency to the typed messages.

A means of communication that on the face of it seems to be quite restricted and linear becomes, upon close inspection, a channel capable of carrying multiple meanings and of performing wide ranging functions, given the pre-existing social organization of the deaf community.

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EDITOR'S NOTES

[1]Telecommunications for the Deaf, Inc. publishes The International Telephone Directory of the Deaf (1982; Barry Strassler, Executive Director, 814 Thayer Avenue, Silver Spring, MD 10910), which contains more than eighty thousand listings by State and country, Canada, Israel, and South Africa, as well as U.S. territories are included. Because government, emergency, and commercial TTY or TDD phones are included, the number of deaf subscribers to the phone system is somewhat smaller than the total. The directory contains a 23-page advertisers' section, "yellow pages", and much additional information. Year-by-year highlights of the organization chronicle the almost exponential growth of the network from 1964, when Weitbrecht's invention of a phone-line to TTY coupler and donations of surplus TTY's by AT & T and other corporations made it possible.

[2]The deaf telecommunicators' closings /GA/ and /SK/ have a longer history than that of their present use. Radio telegraphy grew so fast after World War I that its limitations constrained operators to change language to save time. In the International Morse Code then in use, a letter or numeral required not one unique key stroke, as on a TTY, but as many as five separate short or long key pressures to encode in "dots" and "dashes" the character to be sent. International traffic required besides that the conventions agreed on for openings, closings, and the management of contacts be truly interlingual. Radio operators soon evolved both formal conventions, adopted at international meetings, and informal devices to cope with the restraints the medium imposed on them. One of the latter suggests its English language source: GA meaning 'go ahead' (ie: 'I'm finished for now and will listen for your transmission.') But English did not always prevail. Amateur radio operators using telegraphy still use a convention from French; eg: /W8PSQ DE W8PSW..../ to indicate that the first station has a call from the second. This was not just "equal time" for another language; the use of DE shortens the key strokes required to /-.. ./; sending FROM requires all this: /..-. .-. --- —/ a seventy-five percent saving in time.

Some of the conventional markers were not based on a language expression at all but were arbitrary signals for managing telegraphers' traffic. One such is 'break' or 'space' (-...-). This is signalled on the TTY and TDD by hitting the space bar as on a typewriter, but both TTY and radio operators use the different signals similarly, sending a sequence of these signals when one sentence has been sent and the next one is not yet ready to be committed to the telegraph key or keyboard. /SK/ on the TTY is also one of these conventional arbitrary markers, originally meaning 'end of contact'. The radio operator who does not wish to be called after ending a conversation sends SK followed by CL, for 'closing down operations'.

The way that two of these markers, GA and SK, migrated from international radiotelegraphy to deaf telecommunications also makes an interesting footnote to the history of the deaf community. Early operators were hearing persons, of course, because the dots and dashes were received as brief loud tones of about 3,000 cycles per second; and some of them became deaf at that frequency - "radio operator's notch" - from constant exposure to sound in that limited band. When automatic sending and receiving machines became common, and especially when these had evolved into the familiar teletypewriter, deaf members of newspaper crews could and did replace hearing operators for turns at the keyboard of the paper's press-service news machine. One explanation sometimes given for the great speed of news transmission on "the deaf grapevine" is that lobster-shift deaf operators would use the machines for messages of interest to the deaf community in the early morning hours when regular press-service traffic was light.

Because the change in equipment was evolutionary and the change in operators more gradual, features of the older operating codes for managing contacts and messages were retained, and morse code markers were taken over in alphabetic form for TTY use. Then, since deaf members of press and composing rooms in the newspaper industry - a large proportion relatively of deaf workers - were familiar with the machines and the conventions of conversing on them, it was natural for their practice in TTY use to spread to the first users of the reconditioned surplus TTY's

made available for use by private deaf persons. GA and SK have become a standard part of talking on the phone because deaf printers were doing just that a generation earlier.

[3]In the light of recent discussions of diglossia in deaf communities (Deuchar 1977, Lee 1982, Washabaugh 1981b), it is interesting to note that the Nashes have here a corpus to which the criteria for diglossia apply without modification (cf. Stokoe 1969). The corpus contains two varieties of <u>one</u> language: TTY typed English. Accurate determination of the interaction between native and acquired, formal and informal, public and private, serious and humorous, external and domestic would seem to need such a corpus as theirs, or one in which all the parties are deaf.

BILINGUALISM IN THE EDUCATION OF THE DEAF

Bimodal Bilingualism

Bimodal bilingualism refers to the use of an aurally-based language, like English, and a visually-based sign language such as ASL or CSL. Spoken-heard and written-read communication methods as well as a number of systems of English language, such as Sign English, are extensions or adaptations of the aurally-based language.

The objective of this position paper is to consider bimodal bilingual education as a means of increasing language competence in the deaf and hearing impaired. Based on the requirements of the Convention of American Instructors of the Deaf and the Association of Canadian Educators of the Hearing Impaired for teacher training, and based on the educational experiences of deaf adults, the general focus of most existing teacher training programs has been an aural rehabilitation. The focus has been on how deaf students can obtain education through an aurally-based language that is often different from their functional language. Such a focus omits to consider the rich, visually-based experience and the use of sign language as integral parts of education.

Recognition of bimodal bilingualism in formal academic and vocational settings may be an educationally viable means of promoting general language competence in the deaf. Enhancing the development of language competence is consistent with basic education goals. Such competence would give the deaf more freedom in communication with the hearing, since it is the basis of communication and enables switching from one language to the other and back.

Extent of Use of Bimodal Bilingualism

From casual observation, the deaf and those with severe hearing impairment are exposed to two different languages, visually-based and aurally-based, even though it is the aurally-based language that is usually formally recognized as the language of instruction. However, as a general rule, deaf people, young and old, excell with the visually-based language and have more limited competencies in the other (see attached bibliography). Thus, acquisition of bimodal bilingual skills and general language competence would be enhanced by more emphasis on visually-based language in the instructional environment.

Evidence of Interactions Between the Two Different Languages

A lingually competent deaf person can transfer information/messages from spoken-heard, written-read sources into sign language more efficiently and effectively than a person whose language competency is more limited. In fact, language competency is a prerequisite for such successful inter-language activities. The ability of competent classroom teachers to teach subject content through sign language and the ability of students being able to receive and write it in English demonstrates such inter-language transfer.

Recommendations

In view of the above observations, we would make three recommendations. First, to promote bimodal bilingualism, the University of Alberta should encourage and support staff and student research undertaken with the goal of improving knowledge about the relative benefits of bimodal bilingual education compared to other kinds of educational programs.

Second, the University of Alberta should undertake curriculum development for teachers of the hearing impaired at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. In particular, the following proposals are presented:

Undergraduate Courses: An equivalent of 6 credits of undergraduate courses in sign language (a sign language of the deaf such as ASL) be required for graduation; equivalent courses taken at recognized community programs may be considered as substitute for the undergraduate courses. The students would have to pass sign language fluency tests before having the undergraduate courses waived.

Ed Psy 545 (Manual Communication for the Instruction of the Hearing Impaired): This course should review sign language skills and introduces lessons on sign systems of English, particularly Sign English. The course should focus on developing competency in the use of both languages Students completing Ed Psych 545 should be able to communicate using both languages.

Ed Psy 597 (Advanced Manual Communication for the Instruction of the Hearing Impaired): This seminar-type course should encourage extensive reading and research activities in the area of bimodal bilingualism. By the end of this course, future teachers of the hearing impaired should be able to understand that the visual experiences of the deaf are equivalent to the aural experiences of the hearing in terms of language and communication.

Finally, we would like to suggest that the Association of Canadian Educators of the Hearing Impaired expand their evaluation of students of teacher training programs to place greater emphasis on the ability of students to function in bimodal bilingual educational settings.

Prepared by:

Dave Mason, Chair
Alberta Chapter, Gallaudet University
Alumni Association & A.C. E.H.I.

Steven Carey
Department of Educational Psychology
University of Alberta

Alinda Friedman
Department of Psychology
University of Alberta

Sara McClaine
Pre-School for Hearing Impaired Children
Glenrose Hospital School

Len Mitchel
Deaf Training Program
500-213 Notre Dame Ave.
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3B 1N3

Phil Taylor
Disabled Students Services
University of Alberta

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JUNTO ON EDUCATION

Harvey Corson, Junto Leader
Mel and Sharon Carter, Junto Recorders

Many of the participants in the NAD Forum 1986 "Life in the 21st Century" chose to participate in a Junto on this topic from a choice of four Juntos -- Education, Employment, Communication Technologies, and Family Life. A substantial percentage of these participants were deaf and hearing professionals from the field of education of the deaf.

The following are the summarized recommendations in priority order as developed and strongly agreed by participants in both sessions of this Junto concerning issues in education of the deaf as the United States of America approaches the 21st Century.

Priorities of Ideas, Needs and Wants

1. National Agenda for National Commission on Education of the Deaf

   A National Agenda needs to be developed now by various national professional and consumer organizations serving the deaf in preparation for and in response to the establishment of the National Commission on Education of the Deaf as called for in the proposed Federal legislation, "Education of the Deaf Act of 1985," now pending in Congress.

2. P.L. 94-142

   There is a strong sentiment calling for a revision of this ten-year-old Federal law relative to implementation issues/problems in education of the deaf, as follows:

   A. The need for redefinition of the phrase "Least Restrictive Environment" to cover psycho-social educational needs of deaf children.

   B. The need to clarify and clearly restate the intent of the language regarding the continuum and availability of educational options for all handicapped children, especially for deaf children. Residential/Center schools for the deaf are to be viewed as one viable option among in the continuum of services available to deaf children and youth.

3. Improving the Quality of Education for Deaf People

   There is a consensus opinion that more educational opportunities at all levels are now available for deaf children, youths, and adults. However, concerns are being

expressed in terms of needed changes in programming and appropriateness of such programs for different population segments of deaf children, youth, and adults with varying backgrounds, skills, and hearing losses, affecting the quality of life for deaf people as summarized below:

A. Major Curriculum/Program Changes Recommended

1. Utilization of a bilingual approach, which incorporates the use of American Sign Language to teach English

2. Shift instructional emphasis from speech/language to content areas, including conceptual/thinking skill development

3. Student development to address psycho-social needs, including self-independence and identity

4. Upgrade Student Life/after school/dormitory personnel to that of professional status

5. Incorporate deaf culture/awareness in the curriculum

B. Appropriate Admissions Standards for K-12 and Higher Education/Post Secondary Programs

It is recognized that there is a definite need for information about admissions standards and the accessibility to appropriate programs from kindergarten through secondary and post-secondary levels for all deaf individuals --children, youth, and adults. Thus, this information would assist program administrators/planners as well as parents and students to make appropriate educational decisions and program plans which would not only lead to program accessibility at all levels, but also help maintain the appropriate standards in the various programs.

4. Teacher Training Programs and Certification Standards

Following up on the discussion about improving the quality of education for deaf people, it is recommended that:

A. Focus or emphasis in teacher training programs in education of the deaf be shifted from speech/audition/language to content areas, including conceptual/thinking skill development.

B. Certification standards for professional personnel working with deaf individuals be modified or revised to include requirements for American Sign Language and Sign English competency.

5. Deaf Role Models/Representation in Programs Serving Deaf People

   It is recommended that efforts be made to increase the number of deaf and hard of hearing professionals, supervisors, and administrators in programs serving deaf people, including mainstream programs.

6. Deaf Community and Parent Involvement

   It is recommended that efforts be made to encourage and increase the involvement of deaf community members and parents of deaf children in the educational programs and activities effecting the rights, responsibilities, and the well being of deaf citizens in this country.

Other Key Ideas (Not in order of Priority)

During the two Junto sessions, a list of concerns were raised and discussed. These issues and their subsequent discussions served as the springboard for the priority recommendations as presented above. The following is a list of those issues and concerns which are not necessarily presented in any priority order:

1. Quality and quantity of educational interpreters
2. Concerns of quality of education in residential schools and public attitudes toward residential schools
3. Teacher training programs -- a shift from a speech and language emphasis to content emphasis.
4. Maintenance of a residential school as a viable option on the continuum of resources
5. Consider psycho-social factors as being as important as other educational program needs for deaf children
6. Utilize ASL to teach English in school -- a bilingual approach
7. Increase hearing impaired individuals/teachers/professionals in the field of education of deaf students
8. Increase parent education activities for hearing parents of deaf children
9. Address the issue of whether or not we want to seek changes in:

   P.L. 94-142
   Bilingual Education

10. The need for increased involvement by deaf parents of deaf children in the education of deaf students

11. Change education philosophy from one of spoon-feeding students to that of instilling self-help and thinking skills

12. Reconsider Gallaudet's position on admission standards

13. Deaf community to have more networking with other minority groups

14. More involvement of local and state deaf community leaders in public and residential school programs

15. Have deafness considered as a language minority rather than handicapping condition requiring special attention

16. Hire more deaf teachers/professionals in mainstream programs

17. Upgrade Student Life/dormitory personnel to that of professional status

18. School programs for the deaf need to be upgraded to match public school standards

19. Urge that NAD, Gallaudet, NTID and other appropriate professional and consumer organizations take a strong and visible stand regarding P.L. 94-142

20. The NAD and other organizations in deafness should work together to identify and develop an agenda for the work of the proposed Commission on Education of the Deaf

21. Teachers should be able to read and understand ASL and other forms of sign language used by deaf citizens (Make this a part of teacher certification requirement)

22. College teacher training programs should separate deaf education form speech therapy programs

23. Disseminate NAD's position paper on deaf and hard of hearing administrators in programs serving this population

24. Schools/classes for deaf students should have formal American Sign Language classes for deaf students

25. Deaf awareness should be made available as part of the formal curriculum for all children in all public and residential schools

LISTEN TO THE NEEDS OF DEAF CHILDREN

By Harlan Lane
Boston

The Congressional Commission on the Education of the Deaf, having held hearings in five cities and with expert testimony planned later this summer, hopes to issue final recommendations later this year. Those recommendations must be submitted to Congress and the President by Februrary. The commission should listen to the deaf community and recommend the revitalization of residential schools for the deaf.

The commission visited an educational disaster. The average 12th grade deaf student reads at a fourth grade level and does arithmetic (his best subject) at a sixth grade level. Thus most deaf students leave school unable to read newspapers and are grossly unprepared for our technological society.

It is no surprise that deaf children do badly in school. Their instruction is conducted in spoken and written English although 8 out of 10 of them became deaf before they could learn English at home.

These children lack the knowledge of English and the skills of articulation and lip reading required to succeed . Studies have shown that teachers of the deaf find two-thirds of their own deaf pupils hard to understand or utterly unintelligible, and deaf high school students can lip read no better than the man in the street -- that is, scarcely at all.

To remedy this appalling situation, many leaders in the deaf community want to reform the residential schools for deaf children and to reintroduce sign language and deaf teachers in classrooms. These were successful practises in the 19th centruy, when deaf children studied all their subjects in their most fluent language, the American Sign Language of the Deaf.

In a school with a "signing" community, the student is able not only to understand and respond to the instruction but also to get help after class with course work, to discuss local, national and international events, to

participate in student activities, to develop friendships with other deaf students, to emulate older students and deaf teachers and to acquire self-respect as a deaf person.

The profession of special education, which has largely locked out deaf adults, strongly disagrees with leaders of the deaf community about how to reform education of the deaf.

The profession favors the integration of deaf children with hearing children in neighborhood public schools, and has used the 1975 Education for All Handicapped Children Act to "mainstream" some two-thirds of the 80,000 deaf schoolchildren in the United States.

The profession considers that the deaf child isolated in a hearing classroom has been placed in a "less restrictive environment" -- the goal of the act -- than the one who participates in the intellectual and social life of a deaf school.

Congress was wiser, recognizing as the Supreme Court put it, in a case brought by a parent of a deaf child that "regular classroom simply would not be a suitable setting for the education of many handicapped children." Congress provided for alternative placements but educators largely ignored this provision of the law.

Poor conditions in local public schools for the social and emotional growth of deaf children are not offset by enhanced conditions for learning. The first report cards on mainstreamed deaf children show no improvement in English or mathematics attributable to mainstreaming (even though the first children mainstreamed had the best speech and hearing).

The deaf children who do best in school are the fortunate 10 percent who learned sign language as a native language from their deaf parents. They outperform their deaf classmates from hearing homes in most subjects, even in learning to read and write English. They are also better adjusted,

better socialized and have more positive attitudes.

The superior performance of deaf children of deaf parents highlights the changes that most need to be made in the education of deaf children -- a return to sign language, deaf teachers and deaf administrators. These changes have long been advocated by many in the deaf community itself.

A 1986 report by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization on the education of the deaf concludes that deaf adults can play an important role "in the development and education of deaf children," and finds that the interaction of deaf adults with deaf children, their parents and teachers also "enriches the socialization of the deaf child."

Unesco concludes: "We must recognize the legitimacy of sign language as a linguistic system and it should be accorded the same status as other languages . . . Now that the importance of the national sign languages for deaf education is better understood, it is no longer admissible to overlook them or to fail to encourage their integration into deaf education. The old idea that the use of sign language interferes with the acquisition of spoken and written language is no longer considered valid."

If deaf adults and their manual language were again substantially involved in the education of deaf children, there would be role models for those children, English language skills would take their appropriate priority, literacy would improve and schools would no longer be unsuccsssful speech clinics but rather productive educational institutions.

DO OUR DEAF CHILDREN KNOW WHO THEY ARE?

Rachel Stone Harris
Lynn O. Stirling

"You will have to ask my mother whether I am hard-of-hearing or deaf"

"I will become hearing because I already can hear a lot and my hearing will improve"

"I'm deaf because I cannot hear my dog barking"

"I think I am after my brother who is deaf"

"Jesus made me that way"

"Sometimes I think I speak the words improperly"

The above responses were given by students at Kendall Demonstration Elementary School (KDES) during a videotaped interview which was used for a research project about how deaf children perceive themselves. The study focused on two questions:

- -How aware are individual children about themselves as deaf persons?
- -Are they confident and accepting of their own identities?

Forty three (43) students at KDES between the ages of 7 and 15 participated in the research interview. There were 14 children with deaf parents and 29 with hearing parents. The hearing losses involved ranged from mild to profound.

The children were asked with which group they identified: deaf, hard-of-hearing, hearing impaired, or hearing. Most responses received from the children with hearing parents were ambivalent while most children from deaf parents picked out a certain identity without any sign of doubt.

The majority of the students (60%) identify themselves as deaf, while 33% claimed they were hard-of-hearing. One student chose hearing impaired, but none of the respondents identified themselves as hearing.

Some of the children in the hard-of-hearing category were confused as to whether they should label themselves deaf instead of hard-of-hearing. One hard-of-hearing child of deaf

parents, who was unsure whether he was deaf of hard-of-hearing, finally said that the interviewer would have to ask his mother what identity he should have.

Individuals may identify themselves as hard-of-hearing because they appreciate music or can use the telephone, but may prefer to call themselves deaf because they choose to associate with deaf peers. Other individuals, who may be deaf in the audiological sense, may prefer to call themselves hard-of-hearing because of childhood experiences such as attending a school with all hearing children, having good speech skills, or having accepted the values of the hearing culture.

Some researchers have identified that deaf children are often ambivalent about their own identities, perhaps because they have received inadequate information on deafness, the deaf community, and its cultural values from their families and educational backgrounds (Benderly, 1980; Washabaugh, 1981). To choose an identity, the child needs adequate information related to deafness, in other words, a spectrum of information concerning deafness. Without sufficient information, the child becomes ambivalent and is unable to make a decision.

The following conclusions are based on experiences and interviews with the children at KDES which may indicate their perceptions on deafness and how they adopt their identity.

Based on experience:

- Some children tend to label deaf teachers and professionals as hearing because they do not wear hearing aids. (They are not aware that deaf people do not have to wear hearing aids to reveal their identity as a deaf person.)

- Children usually identify deaf people as deaf or hard-of-hearing when they see them wearing hearing aids. (They are not aware that not all deaf people wear hearing aids.)

- Some children identify anyone in school with good sign language skills as deaf. (They may think all teachers who sign well are deaf.)

- Some children may switch their identity and be deaf, hard-of-hearing, hearing impaired, or hearing, and they are often confused about their identity. (They are not consistent with their identity, possibly due to lack of knowledge about deafness.)

Based on interviews:

- Some children believe they will become hearing when

they grow up because their other family members are hearing. (They may not have the opportunity to interact with deaf families or deaf adults enough or they may want to be like their families.)

- Some deaf children of deaf parents seem to be more concerned about getting sick and losing some more hearing; few in this group express illness as a way of improving their hearing. (They believe that some hearing people lost their hearing through illness, therefore, deaf children could restore their hearing through illness.)

- Most deaf children of hearing parents tend to focus on hopes or expectations of becoming hard-of-hearing or hearing. These deaf children think they may "move up one level" becoming hard-of-hearing from deaf; hard-of-hearing children hope to become hearing. (It is worthy to note that most expect to change by only one level; very few aspire to "two level" changes. Hard-of-hearing seems to be more appealing and successful to them than deaf; it may perhaps have more prestige; in other words, deaf is percieved to be the worst, and hearing to the best, by the relationships between degrees of hearing loss with levels of values.)

Some deaf and hard-of-hearing adults do continue to have the "wishful feeling" to have more hearing, especially when they see someone who can speak and hear better than they can (e.g. a hard-of-hearing person using the telephone). This does not necessarily mean that these individuals do not accept their identities, but that the educators should emphasize the positive aspects of deafness and maximize existing skills for optimum adjustment, acceptance, and achievement (the 3 "A"s).

The young deaf children at Kendall school were already aware of the negative experiences/drawbacks of deafness. The deaf children of hearing parents were more apt to focus on all advantages of their immediate (hearing) family members which leads them to desire to be like them. The deaf children of deaf parents, however viewed the situation differently. They have seen their immediate family members make do with whatever they have and yet still feel contented with themselves. They may see the frustrations of being deaf (e.g. dealing with the telephone, TV, radio), but they also see how an adult deaf person handles these situations.

Deaf children of deaf parents also benefit from their parents' childhood experiences. They often encourage their children to appreciate the services and devices for the deaf that were unavailable to them when they were growing up (i.e. TDDs, decoders, interpreting services, and so forth), as well as the laws which exist now to protect a deaf person's rights.

This may help students recognize the differences among themselves and yet, realize that they share similar needs as members of the deaf community.

The common question about deaf children is: What kind of adults will deaf children grow up to be? The task for caring educators is first to help eliminate the stigma of deafness and the ambivalence of each child about his or her identitiy as a deaf person. Deaf children need a positive atmosphere in which they can grow up with pride and self confidence, developing an image of themselves as valuable, competent people with much to contribute to their own lives and to the society around them.

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TAKING EDUCATION INTO YOUR OWN HANDS

Harlan Lane

Introduction

There has been much progress generally in deaf affairs in the United States in recent decades but very little progress specifically in the field of education; yet education is a vital concern for deaf people. Conditions have long been bad in education for deaf children and for deaf adults and they are getting worse; yet they were better once. Only deaf people themselves can make them better again.

Education is vital.

For minorities in the United States, such as Blacks and Hispanics, as for minorities elsewhere, such as French-speaking Canadians, education is a crucial battleground for minority rights. Second only to the family, the schools shape values, beliefs, and knowledge. Thus, those who govern characteristically look to the schools as a highly effective instrument of government. As majorities are more often disturbed than delighted by minorities in their midst, the schools are often the main means for minimizing or obliterating cultural differences and for fostering assimilation in the name of better governance. Thus, consciously or unconsciously, majorities seek to ensure the continuing oppression of minorities in their nation.

Where a minority has a strong say in the conduct of the education of minority children, where its adults are role models, where their language is used and hence children are educated in their primary language, education is more successful, career aspirations are higher, the profession of teaching is opened to the minority, minority language and culture tend to be legitimized, children grow up adapted to -- and proud of -- their minority identity.

But if the minority language is not allowed in the schools, this reduces the self-image and the potential achievement of those who use it. It discourages minority members from entering the teaching profession where they would serve as role models to the children and tend to perpetuate minority language, culture, and identity.

This outcome is often acceptable, and even desirable, to majorities in power. If education is ineffective, because it is conducted in a language foreign to the students and because no role models are available, the minority stays in the laboring classes. Hence it will be relatively poor. If it is poor and if it is illiterate, it is less likely to exert political influence in behalf of goals distinct from those of the majority.

This is why education is a vital battleground for minority rights. Deaf communities in the western world have long been aware that education is the foremost concern of their minority. The first

book published by a deaf man, in 1779, is largely devoted to education of the deaf and the role of sign language. [1] A torrent of of information, protest and proposals concerning education pours from the pages of the first newspapers by and for deaf people, as from the proceedings of the earliest congresses of the deaf in the last century. Indeed, my history of the deaf in the Western world, WHEN MIND HEARS, proves to be concerned most of all with education of the deaf. [2]

This evidence reveals that, although education is a key issue for all minorities, it has even greater significance for the deaf. No doubt the reason is this: throughout deaf history, the language and culture of this minority could not be transmitted through the home but only through the schools. Since most deaf children have hearing parents, it has traditionally been in the residential schools that they found their "roots;" especially, of course, their minority language.

Conditions are bad in education.

Despite the fact that education is vital for the deaf minority, conditions have long been very bad in deaf education. The attempt to educate deaf children with teaching methods appropriate for hearing children continues to prove a failure, decade after decade. In a classroom where spoken and written English are the basic means of communication, deaf children are baffled and withdrawn, the more so as nine out of ten in the schools today became deaf before they could learn English at home. These children lack the knowledge of English and the skills of articulation and lipreading required to succeed: a British study of nearly all deaf high school leavers reports that speech teachers find two-thirds of their own deaf pupils hard to understand or utterly unintelligible. Moreover, deaf high-school students, although they must rely heavily on lipreading in class, can lipread no better than the man in the street -- that is, scarcely at all. [3]

An educational disaster has thus resulted from using English to instruct deaf children. Here is the result of a study of 17,000 deaf high school students conducted by the Office of Demographic Studies at Gallaudet College: the average twelfth-grade deaf student reads at fourth-grade level and does arithmetic (his best subject) at sixth-grade level. The same results were found in Britian. [4] These abysmally low achievement levels are averages; 50 percent of the children are even less educated. For example, 35 percent of deaf high school leavers cannot read at second-grade level. Alas, these are real children, not merely statistics, and they are rapidly becoming illiterate adults.

The president of Gallaudet College told a senate committee this past summer that there are 5,000 deaf students who graduate annually from secondary schools -- twelfth grade -- and their average reading ability is third grade -- that is, they have the reading skills of a child half their age. [5] If it takes the reading ability of an average eleven-year-old hearing child to read a typical newspaper, then 75 percent of deaf school leavers

cannot read a newspaper, and 85 percent of the profoundly deaf school leavers cannot do it.

Why this staggering and disastrous rate of English-illiteracy among the deaf? The relation between language and power accounts for much of it. It appears that the English-illiteracy of deaf children is, in fact, acceptable to the profession of deaf education. How else can we explain the lack of discussion of the most important fact about deaf education today -- its failure in educating deaf children, the very reason for its existence. Neither the professional meetings nor the professional journals are centrally concerned with diagnosing the reasons for the failure, proposing remedial steps, or evaluating progress. The theme of the recent International Congress on the Education of the Deaf was not the failure of deaf education but the promise of cochlear implants, as if the profession believed that the only hope for deaf education was to provide it miraculously with hearing children.

Why is there a conspiracy of silence about the failure of deaf education? Whatever the profession, it is, of course, more agreeable to strut our few successes than to study our many failures. In this particular case, moreover, successful education is not entirely in the interest of the educators. If most deaf children acquired critical thought and a command of written language once again, as they apparently did in the last century, they would once again enter the teaching profession in large numbers, reform that profession, and make obsolete the present hearing teachers' training, endangering the employment of many. Furthermore, the present deaf illiteracy has been acceptable to deaf education for nearly a century because the low achievement of deaf children corresponds to their teacher's low opinion of their possible achievement, of their intellect, and of their maturity. Believing their deaf pupils are intellectually handicapped, hearing teachers handicap them.

Most deaf pupils are English-illiterate, further, because their own extensive language skills are not acknowledged in the school; they are demeaned or denied. Teachers of the deaf commonly say that they are imparting language to their students when in fact they are trying to teach English to a child who is already as fluent in his or her language as they are in theirs. Nothing is said in school about the manifold forms that deaf literacy takes in manual language: the narrative traditions, the poetry, the hand-shape games, the pantomime, and so on.

Most deaf pupils are English-illiterate because the systematic oppression of American Sign Language (ASL) shuts out the most effective strategy for teaching a second language: namely, to conduct a contrastive analysis of the student's first language skills and second-language goals, and to develop an instructional strategy based on that analysis.

Most deaf pupils are English-illiterate because the written language is partly taught orally and they are deaf, and partly

taught using written English, which is just the language they do not know and are trying to learn; English is virtually never taught nowadays using a language in which most of the pupils are fluent: ASL. Most deaf pupils are English-illiterate because the teachers conceive of English as a set of exercises on the one hand or an aesthetic and moral norm on the other but never as a reflection and reinforcement of cultural patterns, including group loyalty, problem solving, recreation, prception of space and time. Most deaf pupils are English-illiterate because the only English they ever see is neither high level nor newspaper-level but imbecile-level, reduced English.

Thus, deaf pupils continue to be illiterate in English because this state of affairs is often acceptable to the schools; the childrens' prior language skills are demeaned and not utilized; English is taught in English which the pupils can't hear and don't know; and the relations between language and culture are ignored. Whatever the reasons for the pupils' failure to learn English conditions in deaf education are necessarily bad in all subjects since all subjects are taught in English. In this era of information technology, the price the deaf are paying for the alliance between language and power gets higher every day.

Conditions are getting worse.

WHEN THE MIND HEARS: A HISTORY OF THE DEAF traces the stages in the program of forced assimilation of the deaf that began in earnest over a century ago. 1. A movement to banish ASL and deaf teachers in the residential schools began worldwide in the late 1800s. 2. Day schools were established on a large scale at the beginning of this century, so deaf children could live at home in a majority-language environment. 3. The dominance of English was reinforced by encouraging its use in all forms of classroom communication: fingerspelling, lipreading, written English, speech, speech accompanied by signs, signed English. This stage is dominated by the tidal wave of total communication programs that began in the 1970s. As their poor results testify, total communication comunicates very little to very few. Deaf leaders who mistakenly thought total communication was less English-oriented than the "pure" oralism of the first stage and would provide an entree for manual language in the classroom were cruelly misled. 4. The minority has been increasingly dispersed by closing specialized schools and by mainstreaming deaf children into scattered local public schools. Although mainstreaming of deaf children was instituted on a large scale in France and in Germany during the last century and failed utterly in both cases, a renewed attempt began in the United States in 1975. 5. A medical model increasingly guides the relations of hearing and deaf people in the majority's attempt to resolve the social issues by denying their existence. With the headline, "Cochear Implants -- Oralism's Final Solution?" the BRITISH DEAF NEWS recently assailed the 1985 International Congress on the Education of the Deaf for its preoccupation with auditory prosthesis. Cochlear implants are not the solution to a social issue; in common with other prostheses, they are a tool for living, one among many,

appropriate for some and not others. That they are presented as a cure-all and are embraced by educators reveals once again the central program of forced assimilation and denial of a difference.

If few deaf children are as yet implanted, most deaf children are now mainstreamed. More than half of the estimated 80,000 deaf school children in the United States now go to local schools with hearing children and the specialized schools for the deaf they would have attended are starting to close. The label "mainstreaming" embraces such diverse educational conditions that, like the label "total communication," there is something to please nearly everyone. In some urban schools, there are large classes of deaf children, grouped by age, without any contact with hearing children, or just the odd shared class in art or sports. In some less densely populated areas, on the other hand, the deaf child has contact neither with the hearing nor with the deaf; he is left to "make do" in the midst of a hearing class and in the occasional coaching sessions with a few deaf children of various ages and abilities. The deaf child can be, and often is, isolated in the mainstream.

Formerly, most deaf children attended schools with a signing community where they were able not only to understand and respond to the instruction, but also to get help after class with course-work, to discuss local, national, and international events, to participate in student activities, to develop friendships with other deaf students (most deaf people chose a deaf partner when marrying), to emulate older students and deaf teachers, to acquire self-respect as a deaf person.

None of these advantages is available to the deaf child in an ordinary public school, where sign language, deaf teachers, and a deaf community are absent. Moreover, in this setting the deaf child is unable to learn the "indirect messages" of education: the implied or unintentionally taught beliefs, feelings, attitudes, social skills. The poor conditions there for social and emotional growth are not offset by enhanced conditions for learning: the first report cards on mainstreamed deaf children show no improvement in their blighted English or mathematics attributable to mainstreaming (even though the first to be mainstreamed were the children with the best speech and hearing). [6]

Many special educators embraced mainstreaming precisely because it would help to close the residential schools the deaf hold dear. In passing the Education for All Handicapped Children Act ten years ago, Congress was wiser, recognizing (in the words of the Supreme Court) that "regular classrooms simply would not be a suitable setting for the education of many handicapped children" and providing for alternative placements. But educators have largely ignored this provision of the act because they believed that education without integration was a failure, and that integration could be achieved by brute force. [7]

Thus, the very professions created to serve the interests of the

deaf remain at odds, as they have been for over a century, with what the deaf perceive as their interests. These professions have vainly pursued the assimilation of deaf children into the hearing majority at the expense of their individual growth. Confronted with a similar tragedy in England, members of the British National Union of the Deaf, rather more political than their American counterparts, have formally charged their government with a violation of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. That treaty prohibits inflcting mental harm on the children of an ethnic group, and it prohibits forcibly transferring them to another group. According to deaf leaders in Britain, mainstreaming will gravely injure "not only deaf children but deaf children's rightful language and culture." Their published CHARTER OF THE RIGHTS OF THE DEAF asserts that "deaf schools are being effectively forced to close and therefore children of one ethnic/linguistic minority group, that is, deaf people, are being forcibly transferred to another group, that is hearing people," in violation of the Convention. [8]

The condition of deaf education does indeed seem to be getting worse.

Conditions were once better.

There was a time when teachers of the deaf could not practice without a knowledge of their pupils' primary language. But the vast expansion of schools in Europe and America late in the last century created more professional positions than there were educators and administrators fluent in ASL. Increasingly, people with few ties to the deaf community dominated their education.

Teachers who used ASL were increasingly forced into retirement; whereas most teachers of the deaf had been deaf themselves, by the turn of the century, only a handful were. Before the infamous Second International Congress on the Education of the Deaf at Milan in 1880, deaf teachers in America had founded the Florida School, the New Mexico School, the Kansas School, the Oregon School, the North Dakota School, the Arizona School, among others. Many more deaf teachers taught in these and scores of other schools and some developed widely-used teaching materials. Some published learned articles and appeared on the international deaf scene, shaping the future of their profession worldwide.

In the last century, American deaf children studied all their subjects in their most fluent language, the American Sign Language of the Deaf. As a result, there was a need for high school classes for the deaf which rapidly arose, and then a need for college classes, which gave birth to Gallaudet College in 1864. Candidates for the upper division, far from reading at third or fourth-grade level, were examined in English, Latin, history, geography, physiology, philosophy, and mathematics through quadratic equations. Graduates in the first class were journalists, translators, inventors, editors, and teachers, among other professions.

Within a decade after Milan, however, the percentage of teachers who were deaf fell from one-half to one-quarter; by World War I it was down to a fifth, and most of the fifth were in the south teaching manual trades in just a few schools. In the 1980s, the fraction is smaller still, and many of these deaf teachers are assigned by the hearing establishment to instruct multiply-handicapped children. [9]

With the forced retirement of teachers fluent in ASL, and the quarantine and then graduation of the older students who used ASL, the most fluent language of the deaf pupils could be totally banished from their schools. There were twenty-six American institutions for the education of the deaf in 1867 and ASL was the language of instruction in all 26; by 1907 there were 139 schools for the deaf and ASL was allowed in none. Today, more than a century since the congress of Milan, the oppression of the languages of deaf communities in Europe and America continues unabated.

The NAD can make things better again.

The single most important reform, from which many more will follow, is to get deaf adults -- teachers, administrators and parents -- involved once again in the education of deaf children.

About a year ago UNESCO [10] called in consultants on deaf education from around the globe to review and advise it on the different approaches to the education of the deaf. Their report states that schools for the deaf worldwide are now more open-minded, that there are more deaf administrators, and deaf adults have more of a say over the affairs of the deaf. Surely the consultants did not have the United States in mind -- I see no evidence of this open-door policy here. The report concludes that deaf adults have an important role to play "in the development and education of deaf children," and finds that the interaction of deaf adults with the parents, the deaf children, and the teachers also "enriches the socialization of the deaf child."

If deaf adults were once again substantially involved in the education of deaf children, there would be role models for those children, ASL would be reintroduced, English language skills would take their appropriate priority, English literacy would improve, schools would no longer be speech clinics but educational institutions.

All very well, you say, but how do we go about it? I answer: By approaching deaf education from the perspective of the educaton of language minorities, rather than from the perspective of "special education," the education of the handicapped.

Listen to Cesar Chavez describe the education of children in another minority in the United States, Spanish-speaking children. "In class, one of my biggest problems was the language. Of course, we bitterly resented not being able to speak Spanish, but they

insisted that we had to learn English. They said that if we were American, then we should speak the language, and if we wanted to speak Spanish, then we should go back to Mexico. When we spoke Spanish, the teacher swooped down on us. I remember the ruler whistling through the air as its edge came down sharply across my knuckles. It really hurt. Even out in the playground, speaking Spanish brought punishment. The principal had a special paddle that looked like a two-by-four with a handle on it. The wood was smooth from a lot of use. He would grab us, even the girls, put our head between his legs, and give it to us." [11]

Modern studies in multilingual countries such as Canada show that excluding minority teachers and their language from the schools and thus attempting to force the assimilation of minority children like Chavez carries heavy penalties. Educators do indeed become disciplinarians as they pursue the aggressive steps required to stop the child from using his or her primary language -- grades are lowered, physical punishment is inflicted, friends are separated -- and the school becomes a pace of incarceration.

An Alsatian student: "When I was in primary school it was forbidden to speak Alsatian both in and out of class. Children were punished if they were caught." An Arab student: "In my boarding school the nuns forced us to speak French to one another, even when we were playing. We had a special dog collar that every violator of the rule had to wear." [12] A deaf student: "I resented having my lessons hurled at me. It seemed as if all the words, for which I never cared a tinker's damn, were invented for the sole purpose of harassing and tormenting me... How I hated my teacher, my school, the whole creation!" [13] If your heart goes out to these children, if all this sounds very familiar to you, it is because the child who speaks a minority language and the child who signs one have basically the same predicament. To achieve intellectual and emotional maturity and full participation in society most deaf children require an education conducted in their primary languge, American Sign Language, with the participation of deaf adults, in the setting of a specialized school.

In the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 Americans institutionalized the premise that children are best educated, transitionally at least, in their most fluent language. The laws of most of the states soon came to require that schools impacted with more than a certain percentage of children whose primary language is Navaho, or Chinese, or whatever minority language, must offer a portion of their instruction in that language. More than twenty states have legislation promoting some kind of bilingual education, and there are 300 bilingual programs in New York City alone. [14] Yet it has never been possible to add American Sign Language, one of the more populous minority languages, to that list. To no avail for Americans, the UNESCO report on deaf education states as a principle that "We must recognize the legitimacy of the sign language as a linguistic system and it should be accorded the same status as other languages."

Bilingual education of three different kinds is currently available to American children who belong to a language minority. In "maintenance" programs, the child's fluency in his primary language is developed and used to teach English and other subjects. In "transitional" programs, English increasingly assumes the role allocated to the child's primary language at first. Schools following the "ESL" method teach English as a second language and employ it in class.

Maintenance is illustrated by practices at the Thomas Edison Elementary School in Port Chester New York. The children are taught primarily in Spanish and they work on their ability to speak and learn academic subjects in Spanish but they receive special instruction in English and United States culture. Many of the teachers are Hispanic Americans.

Transitional bilingualism is illustrated by the Browne High School in Queens, N.Y. Computer math, science, and history are all taught in both Spanish and English. Students also take two special classes of English for non-native speakers. In the early stages of a class, bilingual teachers use the students' primary language. But as the youngsters become more fluent in English, more reliance is placed on that language as the vehicle of instruction. In transitional programs in New York City, for example, Spanish is used an estimated two-thirds of the time with entering Hispanic Americans, but is almost entirely replaced by English come the sixth grade. The aim of transitional programs is not to sustain the child's minority language and culture but rather to use them to achieve assimilation as rapidly as possible.

The ESL method is practiced, for example, by the Countrywood School in Huntington, Long Island. ESL classes tend to have children with many different primary languages, so no one of them is useful as the language of instruction and the teacher generally speaks in English. [15]

Although the American system of deaf education is predicated on a denial that ASL users are a linguistic minority, the fact is that the signing minority is the one language group that can never be totally assimilated and whose language can never be totally eradicated. Only the first method, then, the maintenance method, is appropriate for deaf children, because it is certain they will remain in the deaf minority and conduct their lives and future learning in art through their minority language. The UNESCO consultants state: "Because the deaf child's language is crucial to its development, the child should learn both spoken and signed language.... Now that the importance of the national sign languages for deaf education is better understood, it is no longer admissiable to overlook them or to fail to encourage their integration into deaf education."

The largest study of bilingual education to date in the United States is about to come out in eight volumes. [16] Its authors followed the progress of Spanish-speaking children in bilingual programs in Texas from kindergarten through fourth grade. They

found that the majority of children who were taught to read Spanish before learning to read English successfully made the transfer of skills to English in the second and third grades. The children who did not do well were not those who spoke Spanish at home but those who had poor language and pre-reading skills whether the home language was English or Spanish. And if those children did not get assistance in their native language, they did not do well in later years.

Now apply this to deaf children using ASL; it predicts, first, that instruction using ASL would actually improve their performance in English just the opposite of what is claimed by the special education establishment. The reason is easy to understand: sound waves or movements of the lips play only a small roe in leading us to understand a sentence. The meaning of each word and its gramnatical class are likewise not the basis of comprehension. In interpreting a sentence, in arriving at its sense, we rely much more than we realize on our knowledge of life, knowledge that is not specific to the particular language in which the sentence is communicated, knowledge that comes from general acculturation. Would a person commit an action like the one I understood? Can it even be done in principle? Would the subject of the sentence be likely to do it? Acculturation is also the key to composing good sentences; children who know a lot about life have a lot to talk about and they know which words and structures tend to come together. So it is not the miniscule, fleeting movements of the vocal organs that the deaf child most needs to know to do well in English but rather the broad relations among physical and human affairs. Now there is widespread agreement that if we chose a language to give most deaf children a ready knowledge of life around them, manual language is the easiest and most effective -- that is just why it is prohibited, because the child tends to use it at every opportunity. The UNESCO consultants agree: "The old idea that the use of sign language interferes with the acquisition of spoken and written language is no longer considered valid."

The findings of the Texas study predict, further, that children arriving at school with poor English skills -- that is, almost all deaf children -- need instruction conducted first in their primary language if they are to do well later on. Yet deaf children never receive this education; that is why they leave high school with third-grade reading scores.

Granted that conditions are bad and getting worse in deaf education, and that we adopt the strategy of recasting it on the model of the education of other language minorities, what can the NAD do to initiate practical changes leading to real learning? The NAD can become once again the outspoken, vigorous champion of American Sign Language and deaf adults in deaf education. Listen to the words of your first president, Robert McGregor; they apply even more today than they did when he wrote them in 1913:

"What heinous crime have the deaf been guilty of that their language should be proscribed? . . . The utmost extreme to which tyranny

can go when its mailed hand descends upon a conquered people is the proscription of their national language. . . By whom then are signs proscribed? By . . . educators of the deaf whose boast is that they do not understand signs and do not want to; by a few philanthropists who are otherwise ignorant of the language; by parents who do not understand the requisites to the happiness of their deaf children and are inspired with false fears by the educators and philanthropists. . . Worst of all, these [people] ignore the deaf themselves in their senseless and mischievous propaganda against signs. Professing to have no object in view but the benefit of the deaf, they exhibit an utter contempt for the opinions, the wishes, the desires of the deaf. And why should we not be consulted in a matter of such vital interest to us? This is a question no man has yet answered satisfactorily." [17]

Why should you not be consulted? More, why should you not be guiding the education of the deaf? Only the leadership of the deaf community can draw up the agenda of practical moves that will implement a strategic commitment to foster ASL and deaf adults in deaf education. Before closing I would like to mention some practical steps that might be on your agenda, just to illustrate that practical steps are possible. Here's a half-dozen.

1. The NAD starts by organizing a study group, made up principally of deaf teachers, to lay out a plan of action for restoring ASL and deaf teachers to the schools.

2. The NAD organizes a meeting of leaders of other laguage minorities -- Hispanic, Chinese, Italian -- to learn how they won bilingual programs in schools around the nation. To this gathering, the NAD invites deaf leaders from countries that have embraced the language of the deaf community in educating deaf children.

3. The NAD encourages state organizations to appoint an ASL Development Officer in their state. Leaders of the state organization meet with officials in their State Board of Education to begin to educate them to show them that there is not just a handicapped issue involved, to demand minority language rights and participation. Deaf leaders will want to know: How can demonstration classes using ASL be started in a few schools? How can barriers to deaf teachers be lowered? How can deaf and hearing parents be brought more into contact? Deaf organizations have successfully lobbied several state governments for reform in such areas as access to interpreters. Why then does the leading deaf organization not promote the leading concern of deaf people?

4. The state officers meet with principals of schools for deaf in state, to examine same issues. They also meet with the teacher-trainers in the state, and thus with chairmen of departments of special education in universities. The state organization should collaborate with the ASL programs in those schools to press for the acceptance of ASL for credit and for meeting the language requirement for graduation. Some states have passed or pending

legislation affirming the rights of ASL users; the state organization of the deaf can be a leader in pressing for passage.

5. At the national level, NAD meets with officials in the Office of Education who administer the Bilingual Education Act, with members of the Senate Committee on the Handicapped, with leaders from the Center for Law and the Deaf, and others, setting itself the explicit goal of adding ASL to the list of recognized minority languages by 1990 -- with all that that entails in recognition and support of ASL in deaf education.

6. NAD collaborates with the major continuing education programs for deaf adults in the United States to train and certify a new kind of professional in the field of deafness: the deafness counsellor. These deaf adults are trained to be Big Brothers and Sisters for hearing parents of deaf children, to provide practical advice from those "who have been there," an opportunity to learn about available community services and about ASL, but equally important a living example of how their child may one day be a knowledgable adult and a contributing member of society. Deaf parents have a priceless gift to offer to hearing parents; if hearing parents cannot reach out to you through ignorance and professional misguidance, will you not reach out to them? Both communities would gain from an alliance.

Finally, if educating those in authority and negotiating small inroads do not work, NAD would be justified in taking the course that has typically been followed by other frustrated language minorities -- raising the level of protest. Newspaper interviews. Leafleting campaigns. Demonstrations at the State House. Student sit-ins. The demand for reform of deaf education in France, from which I have just returned, has taken on this fever pitch where authorities have been unyielding. A hunger strike at the residential school in Poitiers brought the sign-language issue to national attention and led to the introuction of a bill embracing French Sign Language as one of the nation's minority languages. A subsequent call to deaf people and their friends to rally at the Bastille created a media event in which three to five thousand persons, with several legislators in the vanguard and numerous hearing parents, marched to the concerned ministries. The march not only enlightened millions of Frenchmen but it breathed pride, vigor, a sense of power into the deaf community of France and will undoubtedly go down in deaf history as a signal day. The reform of deaf education is also fueled by a hard-hitting and insightful "underground newspaper," COUP D'OEIL (At a Glance), and by a nationwide association of hearing and deaf people committed to bilingual education of deaf children, DEUX LANGUAGES POUR UNE EDUCATION (Two Languages, One Education), with its own magazine, VIVRE ENSEMBLE (Living Together). [18]

If NAD were activist, it could change things for today's deaf children and those of generation to come. You have, however, one enormous barrier to overcome and it is erected not in the minds of the hearing but in the minds of the deaf. America's Blacks had to overcome a similar barrier and so did America's Hispanics. It is

your reluctance to acknowledge that things are very bad and that you can change them. It may be hard for many of you in the deaf elite, selected for your skills in English and the success of your education, to believe that your fellow deaf Americans are illiterate in English and have not received an education. It may be hard for many of you, graduates of an educational system that classes the deaf with the retarded, that despises the language of the deaf community, that has given power to hearing people for over a century -- it may be hard for many of you, graduates of such a system, to believe that there could be a majority of deaf teachers in the education of the deaf, that there could be deaf counsellors for parents of deaf children, that there could be deaf administrators of schools for the deaf.

Yet hard as it may be for you to accept the disaster that is education of the deaf in America today, the disaster persists. And hard as it may be for you to accept your power to change it, you alone have that power and therefore that responsibility. No one will begin the reform movement for you. Hearing people certainly will not -- though your true hearing friends will join it once you have shown the way you wish to conduct reform. Either you get deaf adults and ASL involved again in the education of deaf children or it does not happen. The future is in your hands -- use them!

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THE EFFECTS OF MAINSTREAMING ON DEAF IDENTITY

Donna Rubin
Bill Yust

Mainstreamed deaf children and young adults have had less interaction with other deaf people than deaf children of a generation ago who attended residential schools. This paper will examine the effects of mainstreamed education on the deaf individual's identification with the deaf community. The effects of this trend will be explored and experiences with college students who have come from mainstreamed programs will be reported.

The integration of the deaf minority and the hearing mainstream in the school setting is what is commonly referred to as mainstreaming (Bishop, 1979). Although many deaf students were already enrolled in public schools prior to the passage of P.L. 94-142 in 1975, the effect of that law has been to increase this number dramatically in the last 10 years. At the National Technical Institute for the Deaf (NTID), for example, almost 69% of entering students were from residential schools for the deaf in the mid-1970s. This contrasts sharply with the figures for the 1985 entering class which appear below:

High School Attendance of 1985 NTID Entering Students

48% Hearing high school with all or most hearing classes
36% Residential schools for the deaf
13% Classes for hearing impaired within hearing high school
3% Day schools for the hearing impaired (Coryell, 1985)

One obvious outcome of mainstreaming is that deaf students' environment consists mostly of hearing people, both peers and adults. That environment has a tremendous impact on the individual. One of the most significant influences is on identity formation. Erik Erikson (1968) considers identity formation to be the primary developmental task of late adolescence. He divides this task into 3 components:

1. integrating new experiences into a definition of self;
2. viewing oneself in a way that is acceptable to, and understood by others; and
3. making a commitment to a single view of self.

Clearly, the feedback from one's environment helps shape the individual's perception of him/herself. As Paul Higgins points out in Outsiders In a Hearing World (1980), members of outsider communities, e.g., the deaf community, identify with

their fellow members. However, in a mainstreamed educational environment, it is most likely that "fellow members" are hearing people. Thus, it is not unusual for hearing impaired students to develop an identity of "a hearing person who cannot hear".

Identifying with hearing peers and adults is a natural tendency in this situation, but it does not, in most cases, help the hearing impaired individual shape a clear and consistent picture of him/herself. The following paragraphs offers an interpretation of the effects of mainstreaming on the identity of deaf adolescents, based on survey data and counseling case histories compiled in NTID's Department of Psychological Services.

In the summer of 1985, a questionnaire was distributed to the entering freshman class at NTID. The questionnaire sought information about the friendships and dating experiences that those students had in high school. Peers have an enormous effect on the development of identity; to the adolescent they can seem like a mirror of his or her being in the world.

Of those respondents who attended regular classes in a hearing high school, 86% reported that high school friends were "hearing." 10% reported "hard of hearing" friends, and 2% reported "deaf" friends.

Of those respondents who attended deaf classes in a hearing school, 42% responded that their high school friends were "hearing", 8% reported that their friends were "hard of hearing" and 33% reported "deaf" friends.

In contrast, of those students who attended schools for the deaf, 5% reported having "hearing" friends, 2% "hard of hearing" friends and 91% reported that their friends were "deaf."

Regarding dating experiences in high school, of those respondents who attended regular classes in a hearing high school, 84% reported that their dates were with hearing people. 6% reported that their dates were with hard of hearing people and 2% said that their dates were deaf.

Of those respondents who attended deaf classes in a hearing high school, 42% reported that their dates were hearing, 25% that their dates were hard of hearing, and 33% that their dates were deaf.

Again, in contrast, of those who attended schools for the deaf, 5% reported to have had hearing dates, 11% reported dating hard of hearing people and 75% reported having dated deaf people.

These statistics are unsurprising. One would expect students

to affiliate more with hearing students if they attended hearing classes in a hearing school. And one would expect an increase in affiliation with hearing impaired students if a student is in deaf classes within a hearing school. And finally, deaf students in a school for the deaf would be expected to affiliate primarily with other deaf students.

The significance of these statistics lies more in what they imply about the identity of the mainstreamed students and their connection to, and affiliation with, the larger deaf community. It seems that mainstreamed students have very limited contact with other hearing impaired people. The identity of these students is often challenged when they enter a college environment heavily populated with deaf people -- they now become "deaf" students. This situation can make their transition to college very difficult.

The NTID/RIT (Rochester Institute of Technology) environment can be attractive to mainstreamed students because it is perceived as a mainstreamed campus where they can continue their affiliation with hearing people. Yet this affiliation is not strongly supported in the campus environment. Hearing impaired students are often viewed as a group ("deaf students") by deaf and hearing alike and are generally expected to interact with their own group. Communication barriers can seriously limit mainstreamed students' comfortable interaction with deaf peers, and attitudinal barriers can be just as limiting. Being seen as a member of a group with which one does not identify can result in a variety of reactions -- from resentment and prejudice to identity confusion and bewilderment.

In considering Erikson's three components of identity formation, one can readily see the difficulty in successfully completing this important task. Regarding the integration of new experiences into a definition of self, the new label, i.e., "deaf", that is placed on entering students may often be contrary to their self-identity. Difficulty with the second component (viewing oneself in a way that is acceptable to, and understood by, others) is just as apparent: hearing students, and sometimes both RIT and NTID staff, tend to "lump together" all hearing impaired students; this clearly thwarts the hearing impaired student's need to be accepted as an individual. In effect, these students are saying, " I'm an individual; accept who I am." This request is often denied to them. A self-percieved consistency (Erikson's third component of identity formation) may now be lacking, causing many students to wonder who they are and where they fit in.

There is not very much knowledge about how these students finally resolve these identity questions. Most of the NTID students who stay in the program seem to make a successful adjustment to the college environment; however, the identity

resolutions that are part of this adjustment are really unknown. Follow-up studies are needed to help answer this question.

On a larger scale, what does the mainstreaming trend mean for the deaf community as a whole? Will the definition, composition and role of the deaf community be altered as a result of increased mainstreaming? If so, what steps might be taken by deaf leaders to promote the personal, social, cultural and professional aspirations of young hearing impaired people?

Issues and questions such as these need to be addressed by educators, parents and deaf leaders. Hopefully this would result in a greater understanding of deaf adolescents' challenges and concerns.

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When Hearing Fades

Gallaudet Responds

by Maureen E. Durkin
and Harold O'Connell

Nearly a century has passed since a group of students, teachers and alumni gathered on the campus of the National Deaf-Mute College—now Gallaudet University—to unveil the Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet and Alice Cogswell Memorial, a statue by Daniel Chester French commemorating the achievements and aspirations of the education of deaf students.

It was the late 1800's, a time of beginnings for deaf people with the establishment of new schools for deaf children, the start of the National Association of the Deaf, the organization of Gallaudet's alumni association and the opening of the first teacher training program at Gallaudet. It was a time, too, when older deaf Americans may have looked wistfully at the young deaf students and seen them as recipients of advantages and opportunities not available to all. Little did they know that in the next century Gallaudet's responses to the needs of deaf people would span all ages.

As Gallaudet prepares to meet the challenges of the next decade, the University focuses its attention on the unique requirements of a vital constituency, the elderly. It is, in fact, the fastest growing segment of the population.

Maureen E. Durkin is coordinator of the Special Populations Program in the National Academy. Harold O'Connell is a program development specialist in the National Academy and Gallaudet's Elderhostel coordinator.

"Often age-related hearing loss is not reported because it happens so gradually it goes unnoticed, or because of the perceived stigma associated with hearing loss."

People who were born at the turn of the century had an average life expectancy of 47 years. In 1985, people reaching age 65 could expect to live an additional 16.8 years (18.6 years for females and 14.6 years for males). Since 1900, the number of Americans 65 years and older has increased nine times (from 3.1 million to 28.5 million). It is estimated that the number of older Americans will reach 65 million by the year 2030, two and one-half times their number in 1980.

As our society ages we encounter many more individuals with hearing loss, many with presbycusis, or "age-related hearing loss." To say that presbycusis is age-related may imply that hearing loss *must* accompany aging. On the contrary, many researchers feel that time alone is not the cause, but that the combination of insults to the hearing mechanism from our noisy society, ototoxic drugs and illness also contribute to hearing loss. Senior citizens in some non-industrialized societies, for instance, have been tested and found to have no hearing loss whatsoever.

Often age-related hearing loss is not reported because it happens so gradually it goes unnoticed, or because of the perceived stigma associated with hearing loss. For some people, admitting a hearing loss is a dreaded reminder of senescence. Yet even with this incomplete data, hearing impairment is the leading sensory loss among adults 60 years of age and older and is the third most prevalent chronic condition in this age group behind arthritis and hypertension. An estimated 35 percent of adults over the age of 65 and an astounding 50 percent of those 75 years of age and older have some degree of hearing impairment.

In response to the growing demand for information and education about hearing loss and aging from older adults and professionals who work with them, Gallaudet is building upon its well established resources. One such resource, the Special Populations Program (SPP) of the National

Academy, was established to provide education programs for older deaf and hard of hearing adults both on campus and nationally.

In addition, a major focus of outreach programs conducted by SPP and several Gallaudet departments and their faculties is providing training about hearing loss and aging to professionals who work with older adults. An overwhelming percentage of the population that benefits from such work will do so indirectly. It is, after all, the audiologist, speech pathologist, counselor or social worker who directly serves millions of hard of hearing people across the country. Therefore, Gallaudet's job is of necessity interdisciplinary. The older adult with a hearing loss relies on a physician for medical expertise; the hearing impaired worker not ready for retirement expects information about assistive devices from an audiologist; and the daughter of a hard of hearing parent might depend on a community agency for information about communication and hearing aids. The University's expertise in aging-related research, academic and public service programs is delivered

(ABOVE) Hearing loss and aging: Gallaudet provides training for professionals who work with older adults. (LEFT) Members of a recent Elderhostel program enjoy an exercise class.

Participants in Elderhostel gain strategies for coping with hearing loss.

Making contacts: Senior citizens from across the country attend programs at Gallaudet.

through local and national training for professionals by the Departments of Audiology and Speech-Language Pathology, Sociology and Social Work, Counseling, Psychology, Physical Education and Recreation, the National Information Center on Deafness and the Gallaudet Research Institute.

Gallaudet has been providing a rich variety of aging-related educational programs for several years, many of which have gained national prominence. When the University began its Elderhostel program seven years ago, it offered a single week-long residential program for 25 adults over 60 years adjusting to hearing loss in later life. This year, more than 160 senior citizens attended five Elderhostel programs on campus.

Deaf senior citizens from across the country attended classes about deaf history and folklore, legal rights and the culture of Washington, D.C. Adults adjusting to progressive hearing loss benefited from the "Hearing Loss in Later Years" Elderhostel, the only program of its kind in the United States. And a new Elderhostel program, for older adults interested in learning sign language, brought 45 senior citizens to the campus for a unique glimpse of Gallaudet University and deafness.

In addition to classes, which are held for part of each day, there are many activities planned during every program: visits to historical sites, monuments and museums, tours of Washington and opportunities to attend city-wide cultural events. Summer lectures, theater and other events on Gallaudet's historic campus also add to the enjoyment and variety of Elderhostel.

Current responses to the rapidly growing population of older adults who are hard of hearing will also lead Gallaudet into creative and expanding roles in the 1990's. Since 1950, when the first transistor hearing aid appeared on the market, hearing aid technology and the area of assistive listening devices and systems (ALDS) have become vital interests for audiologists and consumers.

In 1985 the U.S. Office of Technology Assessment prepared a report for Congress that has already brought great attention to the legislative and service needs of older hard of hearing people. Although the report showed that much work needs to be accomplished, it also acknowledged many important breakthroughs made possible by work such as that done by the Gallaudet Assistive Devices Center.

Every year, Gallaudet receives hundreds of requests for training programs for consumers and professionals about hearing loss, communication and assistive devices. Inquiries from across the country ar-

(RIGHT) Hearing aid technology and the development of assistive learning devices and systems have become vital interests for audiologists and consumers. (BELOW) Elderhostel participants practice sign language.

rive daily at the National Information Center on Deafness asking for publications and fact sheets. "Coping Strategies for Hard of Hearing People and Their Families," a training program developed by Gallaudet and Self Help for Hard of Hearing People, Inc. (SHHH), is in great demand as is the National Academy's "Orientation to Hearing Loss and Aging" training program. These and many other programs are offered through the University's five regional centers located around the country.

Integral to the successful dissemination of information, the expansion of consumer and professional training, and Gallaudet's growing role as a resource on aging and hearing loss, are cooperative links the University has established with local, state and national organizations such as SHHH, the American Association of Retired Persons and the National Council on the Aging. Experts from Gallaudet and these organizations will continue to recognize the special characteristics of the aging population in planning programs in the coming decade.

The aging-related programs and services already established at Gallaudet provide a broad foundation upon which future programs will be built in the 1990's. During the past two years other exciting efforts have included a 30-hour Certificate Program in Aging and Hearing Loss for Professionals; Gallaudet Presidential Awards to fund videotapes about later life hearing loss and assistive listening devices; conferences for service providers in long-term care facilities, community recreation centers and senior centers; national workshops about accessibility and accommodation for older deaf adults and hard of hearing elderly people; and local speechreading classes.

"The fastest growing segment of the population—people aged 60 years and older—presents Gallaudet with great challenges in the coming decade."

The fastest growing segment of the population—people aged 60 years and older—presents Gallaudet with great challenges in the coming decade. Although much progress has been made, there remain serious gaps in services for hearing impaired older adults. There are many myths about hearing loss to dispel: hearing loss means intellectual loss, hearing loss means one is old, hearing aids are the answer to all communication problems, hearing aids can't help those with sensorineural losses. And Gallaudet must provide training so that appropriate responses are made to people with hearing losses.

What then lies ahead? The demand for more Elderhostel programs for deaf senior citizens and older hard of hearing adults continues to grow. National requests for training programs about hearing loss and aging by health care professionals, social workers, educators and community service providers will steadily increase. Sharing this knowledge through teaching, information dissemination and cooperative efforts with national organizations will require the combined resources of Gallaudet and its five regional centers.

As Gallaudet staff members travel throughout the country—conducting Area Agency on Aging workshops in Wisconsin, attending the Federal Region III Aging Conference in Philadelphia, presenting training programs for senior center personnel in California, or developing speechreading courses in Florida—it becomes apparent that increasing numbers of professionals recognize the need for information about hearing loss. They are eager to attend continuing education programs for facts about assistive devices, accessibility, communication strategies and related topics.

Gallaudet University, distinguished worldwide for its expertise in deafness and hearing impairment, is committed to increasing the awareness of the needs of older hearing impaired adults. Through cooperative outreach and information dissemination efforts with organizations and individuals in the aging network, Gallaudet can and will make a difference in the lives of millions of older Americans with hearing losses. □

THE USE OF ASD AS A RESEARCH/RESOURCE CENTRE: PERSPECTIVE FROM THE DEAF COMMUNITY

Research is a vital tool that helps to dispel misconceptions about deafness and the deaf community in addition to improving educational and rehabilitative methodology. It can be a positive force advantageous to the deaf community. Nevertheless, research, if improperly carried out, can have equally negative effects. The deaf community is faced with twin barriers to positive research applications: a lack of focus and a lack of understanding of deafness. By lack of focus, it is meant that the deaf community *per se* lack the resources and facilities through which to give direction and support for research. The lack of understanding is explained by the following:

> "It is difficult to imagine that a well-trained psychologist would consider studying child development in Spain, for example, without first learning Spanish and something about the Spanish culture. And yet, the equivalent happens repeatedly in studies of deaf populations. When researchers are not familiar with deaf people and lack appropriate communication skills, they are usually unaware of important variables, and are probably unable to convey the requirements of the task. As a result, much of the research literature which currently exists on deaf populations is inaccurate or uninterpretable. [1]

Therefore, the deaf community would like to see such research be conducted by persons and in an environment sensitive to their needs. Historically, schools for the deaf have been a major focal point of the deaf community, providing an environment generally conducive to their needs. The Alberta School for the Deaf has always enjoyed a good relationship with the local deaf community, being generally sympathetic and positive towards their input and involvement. Furthermore, ASD has the highest concentration of deaf professional staff of any institution, educational or non-educational, in Canada, making it a natural choice for a resource/research centre, one that would be enthusiastically supported by the deaf community as well as being sensitive to its input.

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[1] Lieben, Lynn A developmental approach to the experimental deficiencies of deaf children. Paper presented to the Biennial Meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development. Denver, 1975

The following are examples of how the deaf community could benefit from a joint University of Alberta/Alberta School for the Deaf venture in the development of a research/resource centre on deafness at ASD:

1. Sign language/linguistics research - such research would help the deaf understand their own sign language and how they could apply it in mastering second languages such as English.

2. Sign language therapy/instruction - the centre would provide intensive instruction on how to sign properly as well as improving receptive skills for educators, parents, and deaf students.

3. Mental health research - such research would identify the variables associated with good mental health in deaf persons and refine mental health counselling techniques.

4. Clinical services - the centre would provide counselling services that are geared to meet the unique needs of the deaf and help individuals learn to cope with deafness, especially parents.

5. Occupational research - such research would examine the requirements and tasks of any particular occupation and modify these to fit the requirements of the deaf.

6. Career planning and couselling - this centre would provide such services that would enable deaf students to make correct choices for their future and abilities.

7. Educational research - such research would develop and refine educational techniques and methodology which would maximize the learning opportunities for the deaf.

8. Education clinical services - the centre would develop and provide special remedial programs for individual students with learning problems.

9. Demographic studies - the centre would fill a serious gap now extant in Alberta this area.

10. Computer-assisted instruction - this centre would research and develop techniques and programs specially designed for the deaf in this area.

The above are but a few examples of the wide potential of this research/ resource centre at ASD, and these examples illustrate the basic issues which the deaf community feels are important in the area of deafness. With this centre in place at ASD, research in deafness would rate higher in validity than it would if it were located elsewhere.

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE MYTH THAT MAINSTREAMING AND INTEGRATION ARE SYNONYMOUS

Michael Rodda

Professor of Educational Psychology

University of Alberta

Educational Psychology

University of Alberta (6-102 Ed. N.)

Edmonton, Alberta

T6G 2G5

"That our language is called barbarous is but a fantasy, for so is, as every learned man knoweth, every strange language to any other." (Brennan and Hayhurst 1980)

No - Brennan and Hayhurst were not talking about "sign language". They were quoting St. Thomas More on the controversy of translating the Bible from Latin into English! The epithets are familiar - "barbarous", "vulgar", "rude", "without logic", and "cruel". English was inadequate and inelegant! Well, of course, English was a bastardised language developed from Norman French and Anglo-Saxon! A vernacular language used by an uneducated, academically retarded, uncultured, illiterate populace - it had no place in "polite" society, and its use in Science or the Arts was inconceivable! This is the language we present as superior to deaf people or other minority language groups!

A language does not make a culture or a sub-culture, but it is an important aspect of it. Similarly, a culture or a sub-culture does not make a person, but it is an important aspect of their development. As Barbara Kannapell has said: "I believe my language is me. To reject a language is to reject the person himself or herself." The thesis of this paper is that "mainstreaming" and "integration" are desirable, necessary and important for some deaf children, but the movement also contains within it the seeds of the same prejudices which have led to a rejection of the minority group of deaf people and of deaf people themselves. We do not have to understand why the prevailing culture feels threatened by minority groups - suffice it to say that it is. White deaf people have not been exposed to the

excesses shown towards the black population in the U.S.A. and elsewhere, but this does not mean that they have enjoyed "freedom" and "equality". They have not - and is prejudice any the better for being covert rather than overt?

The Culture of Deafness

What do I mean by the culture of deafness and why it is important? Culture has been defined by Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) as "patterns... of... behaviour transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts." These authors go on to point out that "the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values." The purpose of such values is to condition the individual to act in a certain way, although the values themselves are also partly determined by how we act! Indeed for this reason, it is particularly important to differentiate between the process of enculturation and the process of socialization (see Williams, 1972). Enculturation is the process whereby an infant or student learns and is assimilated into one particular culture. Socialization is the process whereby infants and students are able to learn those particular attributes which are distributed across all specific cultures. We are enculturated into a specific set of religious beliefs; the process whereby we are able to learn those beliefs is the process of socialization, not the beliefs themselves.

It is not appropriate in this paper to go into a detailed discussion of how the mainstreaming of deaf students is organized - McLaughlin (1980) and Brill (1978) have already done so. It is important to have a common definition of mainstreaming such as the one given by Kaufman, Gottleib, Agard and Kuric (1975): "Mainstreaming refers to the temporal, instructional and social integration of exceptional children with normal peers. It is based on an ongoing individually determined educational needs assessment, requiring clarification of responsibility for coordinated planning and programming by regular and special education administrative, instructional and support personnel." The idea is not a new one in the field of education of the deaf. Early unsuccessful, European experiments are fully reported by McLaughlin. Indeed one of the early North American experiments is even more interesting because at the turn of the century it involved placing deaf students in a classroom with hearing students in a regular "industrial training" school. Unfortunately, we do not know if it was successful - the parent school (the Fredericton Institution for Education of the Deaf and Dumb in New Brunswick, Canada) closed in scandal and disarray, and the students transferred to the school in Halifax, Nova Scotia. It is tempting to conclude that the school was a first casualty to an uncritical and emotive commitment to mainstreaming, but, in fact, that is not the case. The motives were much baser, and the story is one of those turgid episodes that litter the Victorian's philanthropic endeavours!

Marginality and Self Image

Provided disabled people and "non-disabled" people relate together as equals, proximity and contact do seem to produce some reduction in prejudice in non-handicapped persons (see Gniazdowsky, 1977). Therefore, it is desirable that we provide greater opportunities for deaf students and adults to interact with their hearing peers. Unfortunately, in doing so, we have often failed to carefully enunciate the needs of the deaf student. We have also failed to consider that the degree of "marginality" affects the degree of acceptance. Pre-lingual profoundly deaf students almost invariably cannot communicate easily with their hearing peers (particularly from adolescence onwards). Therefore, they are frequently in a state of "marginality" (see Sussman, 1966 and Vardy, 1980 for excellent discussions of this problem). Marginality in turn , prevents both enculturation and socialization. Therefore, many deaf students develop a poor self image, derogatory attitudes towards themselves, low academic achievements and behaviour problems.

Schein (1980) has summarized it well. "Deaf children need to be taught to be deaf... we frequently stress 'normalisation' as a goal and 'dummification' as the horrible alternative. Neither fits the bill." As he points out, deaf students need to learn about their folklore. Through it they learn appropriate role models. They also need to learn some basic coping skills such as typing (to use teletype attachments) and how to handle a supermarket and an airport! The world is designed for those who hear, not for those who are deaf. Therefore, as Schein points out "the curriculum for hearing-impaired students needs to be

designed for hearing-impaired students." This need has nothing to do with whether or not a deaf student lives at home. It has a lot to do with the manner and the form of his interaction with the hearing world, and the importance of the "culture of deafness" in supporting the deaf student and adult. The argument is not about mainstreaming, per se, but about the responsibility of Society to ensure that the minority group culture is retained.

The Heirarchical Structure of Mainstreaming

If we contrast the diagramatic representation of the "Cascade" system with the model developed by Gunzberg and Gunzberg (1973), an interesting difference emerges (see figures 1 and 2). The Cascade system is invariably drawn in an administrative or structural mode. The regular class merges into residential provision and then into Hospital or some other kind of provision. The Gunzbergs' model is drawn in a developmental or functional mode. The two are not, of course, necessarily opposed, but they can be if we assume that a heirarchically structured pattern of services enable us to make judgements about "the least restrictive environment" required by PL 94-142. The least restrictive environment is defined by the match between student and the programs of the institution, not by pre-defined and arbitrary criteria.

Unfortunately, we have often concluded that "Schools for the Deaf" are Institutions and that, de facto, Institutions are undesirable. Both premises are suspect. Miller and Gwynne (1973) in their seminal study - A Life Apart - concluded that

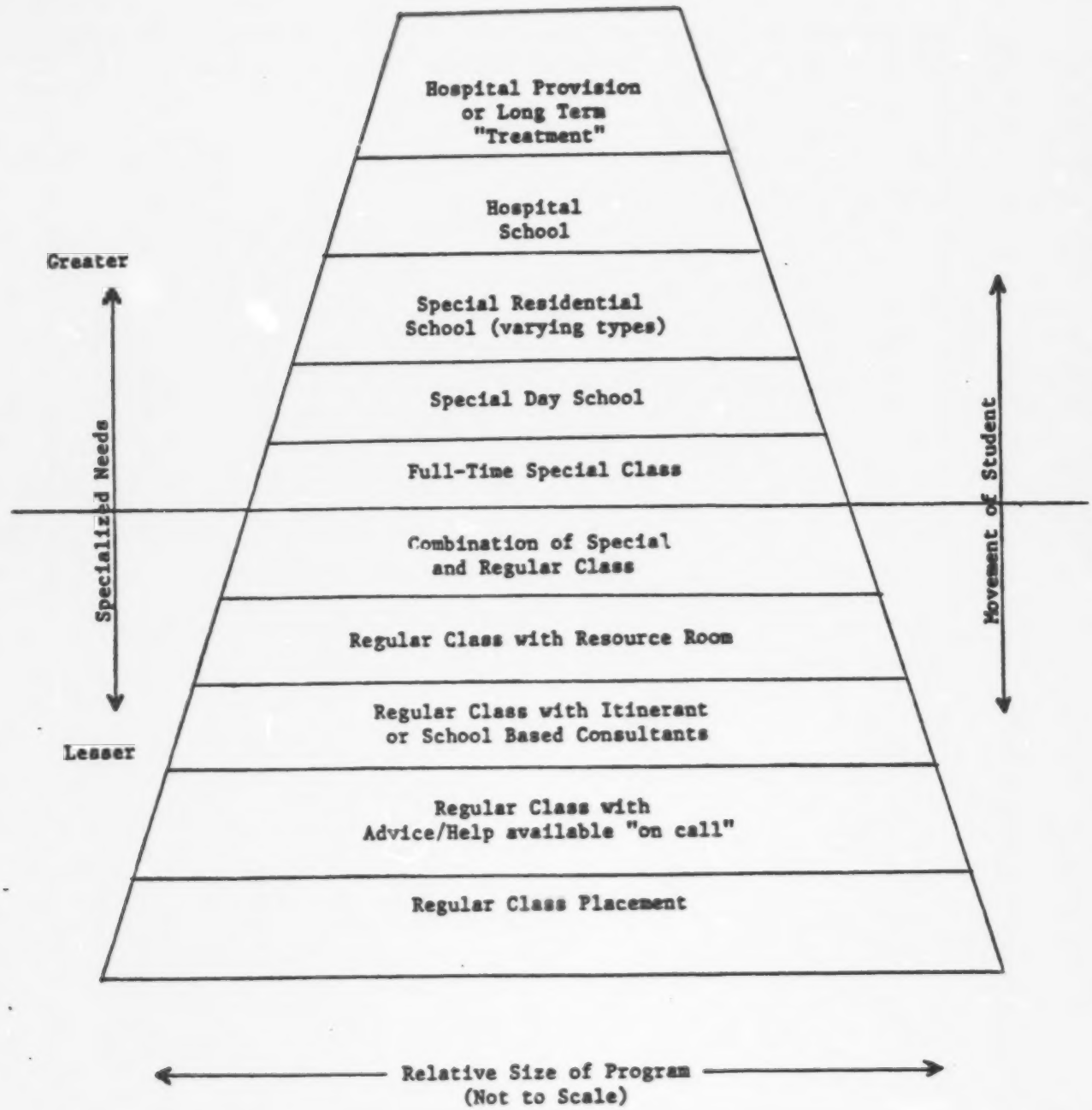

Figure 1. The Cascade System of Special Education
(Modified from Deno, 1968)

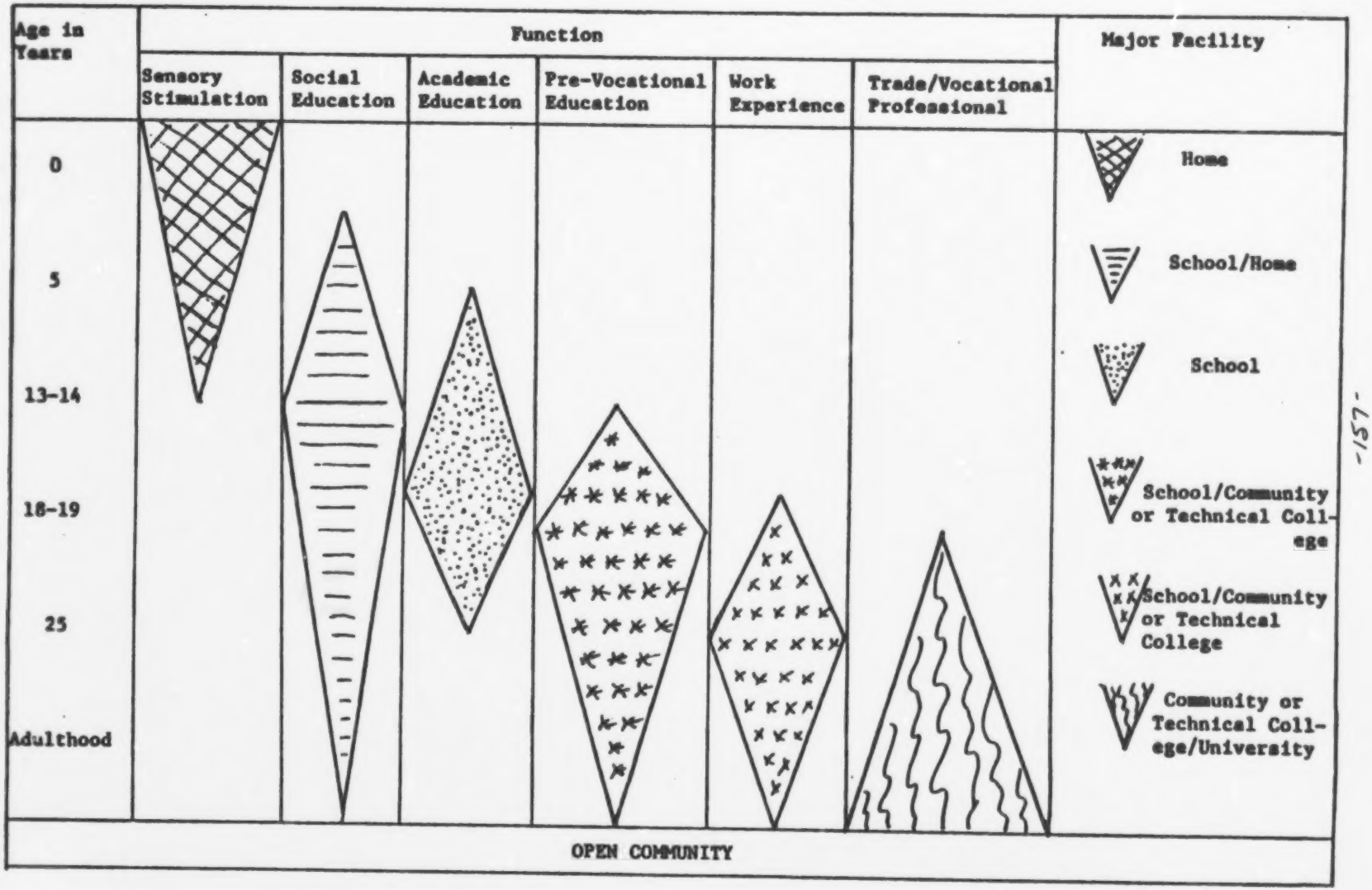

Figure 2. A social and educational programme for deaf students (based on Gunzberg and Gunzberg, 1973)

institutions were of two basic types. The one type "warehoused" its residents by focussing on placing everything (including staff and residents) in its proper slot at the right time. The other approach they described as "horticultural" - residents (and staff) were nurtured to grow to their maximum potential. Only those "Schools for the Deaf" who warehouse can be called institutions, and they are indeed undesirable. However, they do not have a monopoly on the warehousing approach - it can be found in many "regular schools" and in many homes as well.

Some Aspects of the Deaf Culture

A culture has basically four sub-systems (Williams, 1972) Social Relations, Language, Technology, and Ideology. The culture of deafness is at a relatively early stage of development. Moreover, it is technically defined as a sub-culture.[1] It does not, for example, have its own government or clothing. Nevertheless, it does have distinct organizations, attitudes, values and social structures. It is beyond the scope of this paper to describe all aspects of the deaf culture. Indeed, many have yet to be studied. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile focusing

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[1]Interestingly, when I first started work in the area of deafness, I thought and wrote of the "deaf sub-culture" as if it was subservient to a hearing culture. I now feel to do so is wrong and patronising. The culture of deafness is far too rich to be thought of in this way. It has language, "literature", poetry and art forms as rich as those found in most hearing cultures. It is definitely not subservient to the hearing culture. Rather it is a separate culture with equal right to stand alongside those of the hearing majority, but sharing some aspects in common. As is so often the case in Social Science our jargon reflects our intrinsic value judgements and prejudices. Is the hearing culture a sub-culture of deafness when studied by the deaf sociologist? Indeed, is there such a thing as the hearing culture?

briefly upon two areas of the culture - art forms and language - which illustrate its diversity and richness.

The development of deaf artists, and of a deaf art form are quite distinct, and should not be confused. Two of the more famous deaf artists are John Brewster, Jr., the Maine deaf painter, and Donald Tilden, the Californian deaf sculptor. These artists are an important aspect of the deaf culture - for they are two of its folk heroes. Nevertheless, their art form is <u>not a deaf art form</u> - it is stylistically similar to that of other artists of their time. Brewster is "primitive" - lacking in form and perspective; Tilden is representational but lacking in imaginative stimulus. Along with the deaf chess players described by Font and Ladner (1979), they are important because they provide appropriate "role models" for deaf students. Deaf students can aspire to emulate them, and their ability to "mainstream", but their art form still reflected the desire to conform and belong to hearing society.

Of greater significance than deaf artists painting or sculpting "hearing" works, is the relatively recent public emergence of a truly deaf art form in language, theatre and poetry. With some notable exceptions, such as the National Theatre of the Deaf, much of the "art" is of poor quality, but its importance is in its existence, not in its quality. Creativity often generates "junk", but in this case it also generates a public record of the "deaf experience". Out of this experience grows a sense of belonging and of being - a sense of "Deaf Pride". On the surface the play "Sign me Alice" by Gil Eastman is a take-off of Pygmalion. However, that is to merely

concentrate on the surface of the action. What is common are the "experiences" - those of Shaw's London "flower girl", and those of Alice, a product of the modern educational system for deaf students. Alice will become different not because we put her into a different school, but because we change our views about curriculum and the educational process. The process of mainstreaming is not a revolutionary change in our system - rather, it is a continuation of the attempts to assimilate deaf people into the mainstream hearing culture.

Parallels with "Black Language"

The attempt to assimilate the deaf student has remarkable parallels with the attempts to assimilate "blacks". Starting with Victorian missionaries who covered both piano legs and black bodies, white Society has constantly been threatened by the existence of different cultures. This threat is most clearly evidenced in the attempt to destroy languages. Writing of West Indian Creole language in Britain, Edwards (1979) says: "It is rare for Creole to be looked upon as a perfectly logical and adequate linguistic system which is the vehicle of a very lively culture. And very few people have considered the harmful effect which constant correcting of Creole features might have on the self-confidence of West Indian Children and on their motivation to learn standard English." She also points out that generations of teachers have tried and failed to eliminate the semantics and syntax of the Creole language, and explores the subtle ways in which prejudices are handed down from teacher to teacher, so reinforcing the very behaviour they are supposed to prevent.

The parallels between educating West Indian and deaf students are clear, and have little to do with where the student is to be taught. They have a great deal to do with the acceptance and knowledge of ASL as a language, and the concept of raising deaf children to be bilingual (Kannapell, 1974 and 1979). Again we refer to Edwards' discussion of Creole. She discusses "ad hoc" teaching methods in which the teacher arbitrarily and inconsistently corrects Creole from an English framework. She gives an example of a teacher correcting smell to smells, but not correcting stand to stands or, indeed, a later smell to smells. The teacher fails to emunciate the English rule that requires an -s marker, probably because she does not understand the Creole rule that does not require such a marker. She also gives examples where the hypercorrected form of a word has become the norm (eg. teeth, peas, shoes ... which do not exist in the singular). She concludes that "explanations should be postponed until the child's literacy is firmly founded on his own speech patterns."

Whatever the arguments about the place or otherwise of sign language in the education of deaf children, we can at a very minimum state that teachers of deaf children must understand and be receptively fluent in both ASL and the syntax of spoken English (not to be confused with speech). If they are not then they will not be able to build the bridge between the two languages. Teachers of French to English speaking students are generally thought to be more proficient if they are fluent in both languages. However, we do not make the same requirement of

teachers of deaf students, even though deaf children will develop their own sign system in the absence of a better model - a system which has very close syntactical parallels to the sign system which generates so many so-called "deafisms." Deafisms are in fact the reflections of visual-spatial-kinesthetic representation of syntax. In a sense they are "deafisms", but not in the derogatory way this term is used to refer to a non-standard form of English syntax.

The Effects of Selection

One of the more surprising aspects of the literature on mainstreaming and deafness is the failure to discuss the effects of selection on the "non-selected" students and the "institutions" in which they are placed. This may be partly because so much of the discussion of mainstreaming is concerned with the placement of mentally retarded students. As Moores (1978) points out "educators of the retarded are proclaiming major advances on the basis of... 1)...beginning to abandon practices which they themselves initiated; 2)...mainstreaming children who should never have been in special classes...; and 3) they have revised their psychometric definition of mental retardation to that employed 50 years ago" (page 12). Similar criticisms are unlikely to hold in education of the deaf; or if they do they have less significance in terms of the number of students who have been inappropriately placed in an institution.

context, rather than deficiencies in the educational system for deaf students similar to those found in the care/education system for retarded students. [2]

Interestingly, education of the deaf is one of the few areas of education that in the past operated a reasonably "comprehensive" system. Some private, selective schools existed; and there were good and bad schools. Nevertheless, in the main the educational treatment of the deaf student was less influenced by variables such as social class, social origins and sex than the education of hearing children. Insofar as these variables affected the deaf student, they did so independently of his deafness (see Rodda, 1970). Unfortunately, as far as I am aware no statistical evidence exists on which to analyse these kinds of trends in the present placement of deaf children, although data about other characteristics is found in studies such as that of Karchmer and Trybus (1981). Nevertheless, the prevailing professional opinion is that as mainstreaming becomes more common, residential schools are rapidly becoming populated by the multi-handicapped and socially disadvantaged deaf students. We do not yet label their students as "mainstream failures", but we are leading ourselves into that conceptual trap.

The practices described in the previous paragraph may create a paradox. They may make it easier for some students to enter the mainstream of society, whilst at the same time making it more difficult for the educationally and/or socially disadvantaged to

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[2] The process whereby deaf infants/students/adults are classified as mentally retarded is a different issue, but it is one where the criticisms made by Moores might be more relevant.

gain access. Classically, this can be seen in the present pattern of unemployment for both hearing and hearing-impaired young people. Within the "unemployed" group, there is a relative large "disadvantaged" clientele who may face a lifetime on the "welfare roll" - they may never work because society demands social and occupational skills that they are unable to develop or we have failed to develop. As Schein and Delk (1974) point out, many deaf students are being or are already placed in the jobs which are most vulnerable to social and technological change - jobs that may not exist in 10 to 20 years time! Is this problem, at least, as relevant as arguments about social integration, per se?

Selection for Mainstreaming

The reasons for the changing characteristics of the population of schools for the deaf are found in the social-political values which circumscribe education, and in the selection processes which are used to advise students and parents about placement. We can do little about the social-political values except to remind ourselves that the pioneers of deaf education were notable for their rejection of the prevailing norms. If they had not rejected these norms, we would still believe the distorted translation of Aristotle - "Those who are born deaf all become senseless and incapable of reason" (see Pahz and Pahz, 1978, for an excellent account of the history of deaf education). However, we can do something to identify and counteract the biases which exist in the selection processes determining which students will be mainstreamed and where - biases that themselves often reflect a social-political context.

The state of the art in selecting deaf students for mainstreaming has been well-documented by Bunch (1977). He states of the development of a mainstreaming program in British Columbia - "Neither the government nor its critics could suggest acceptable and useful methods of assessing which children were suitable candidates for mainstreaming and what degree of support an individual mainstreamed child required." He goes on to discuss three of the most developed instruments for making such selections in deaf education - the Transitional Instrument for Selection of Hearing Impaired Students for Integration (Rudy and Nace, 1973); the Integration Profile of the Lexington School for the Deaf (Blumberg, 1973); and the Mainstream Placement Question/Check List (Nix, 1977). Brill (1978) also describes a number of different methods used for selection and placement. After his initial comment, Bunch goes on to criticize the weighting and scoring of the tests, and comment on the areas of assessment that the test authors omit. These criticisms are important, but, unfortunately, he fails to mention that the reliability of rating scales is usually too low to permit their use in individual selection. He also fails to consider some major concerns about the validity of the selection criteria, particularly since as I have already indicated, these criteria tend to reinforce existing biases within the regular educational system.

The existing biases are well described in the title of a major British report on the topic of educational disadvantage -

Born to Fail. In this study, Wedge and Prosser (1973) set up an operational definition of disadvantage and found that 1 in 20 of children so disadvanted were placed in special schools for the "educational sub-normal" (ESN), whereas the proportion in the normal population is 1 in 150. In the U.S.A., the U.K. and in Canada (and probably most other countries), it is already clear that regular schools have failed to cope with the relatively mildly handicapped group of students who come from socially disadvantaged conditions. Nevertheless, we are now expecting them to cope with quite large numbers of other handicapped children (perhaps as high as 1 in 10 if all types and degrees of severity of handicap are considered), whose problems are often much more severe than those of the socially disadvantaged. We apply a double standard - we regard failure of students as a reliable predictor of future failure; we regard failure of the school system in coping with disadvantage as a predictor of success in dealing with other types of disability!

Even if schools had not failed to cater to minority groups, there are some major implications built into the selection instruments used in predicting success in mainstreamed programes. The student selected for mainstreaming will be the academically higher achieving deaf student, who has good language and communication skills, who is socially well integrated, who is of higher intelligence and who is drawn from a supportive and intact home environment. (see, for example, Karchmer and Trybus, 1981). With rare exceptions, as presently organised selection for mainstreaming will isolate the deaf student from the mainstream

of deaf culture and will deny (at least for a time) the deaf community his or her leadership.[3]

Effectively, current mainstreaming practices are removing from the mainstream of deaf education the less educationally handicapped deaf child. They are then leaving a demoralised segment of the educational system to cope with the more severely handicapped students, even though the teachers, clinicians and administrators rarely have the training or background to cope with this kind of student. In its anxiety to respond to a reasonable and clearly articulated middle class demand, the educational system has generally failed to adequately plan the whole spectrum of services and programs which are needed if mainstreaming is: (1) to be a successful facet of a total system; (2) is to retain and advance deaf culture; (3) is to meet the needs of deaf students for an adequate self-image; and (4) integration is to be seen as a two-way process - hearing students integrating with deaf students as well as vice-versa.

Role of Parents and Deaf Adults

We referred in the previous section to the reasonably and clearly articulated demands of some parents which have given additional force to to the social movement to mainstream deaf children. The paternalism of professionals in the field of deafness when dealing with both parents and deaf adults is well

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[3] An additional problem is that most of the selection criteria we have just described will measure "hearing loss" as much as any other factor (see Ross, 1976), although some unpublished research by J.C. Denmark, Carl Grove and the author invalidates this statement when the sample is limited to severely prelingual deaf students.

documented (see, for example, Schlesinger and Meadow, 1972). It is also reinforced by the procedural protections which exist for parents under PL 94-142, and which can place parents in an adversary rather than a partnership relationship with professional educators. Despite the fact that the deaf child spends a mere 8% of his 8,760 hours/year in the classroom (Garretson, 1981), school systems have effectively insulated themselves from the full effects of PL 94-142 by defining "appropriate" as meaning "not inappropriate" (Large, 1980). Therefore, the provision by a school district of one form of education is seen to be acceptable, and the parents of deaf children are forced to accept the local program, irrespective of its perceived appropriateness for their child. At the moment such a situation seems to be to the advantage of Total Communication programs,[4] but it also means that parents and their children are still buffeted by the whims and fads of local "educators of the hearing impaired." It also means that the individual deaf child may be faced with a conflict between the objectives of the school system and the objectives of the home. The conflict can only be resolved if the parents accept the objectives of the system! Large (1980) expresses it well: "Congress and the commentators have blithely assumed that regular placements were always more beneficial. Parents and teachers, who have to deal with the practical aspects of handicaps after the theoreticians finish congratulating themselves, are not so sure... Parents fear that

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[4]These programs are, anyway, of often inferior quality, and also seem to avoid completely the issue of how you can have a good total Communication program if you do not have an outstanding speech program!

their children will lose an effective education to be part of an ill-advised experiment in socialization."

The concerns which exist for and about the involvement of parents in the educational process are as equally relevant when we consider the adult deaf community. This community does not have, and does not often claim, the right to impose a particular view of education on the parents of a deaf child. They do have the right to make input about decisions concerning the education of deaf children, just as elected School Boards and Legislative Assemblies allow hearing Society to exercise a measure of control over the professional educator and educational administrator in the field of regular education. Mainstreaming is superficially attractive because it seems to make education of deaf students more accountable to the existing mechanisms of social and political control. Unfortunately, such accountability is more apparent than real - the lack of knowledge about deafness has made School Boards and Legislative Assemblies very dependent on either the professional with presumed special knowledge or a vociferous lobby reflecting only one position to the exclusion of all others. If we are to develop a system in which deaf education is truly accountable for its results then we are going to need to build in opportunities for parents and the deaf community to make a reasoned appraisal of the "state of the art". We will not do so until we train professionals to work effectively with both groups, and enable them to learn to handle their own personal conflicts in accepting the role of parents and deaf adults in formulating educational practice and policy. Professionals are an

integral part of social change, and need to know how work with parents and consumer groups to influence and to know how to deal with these changes.

Future Policy and Final Conclusions

Anderson (1973) offers some prescriptions for future policy on mainstreaming. Her study of physically handicapped children receiving education in ordinary primary schools in England was exceptionally searching and she concludes that "given special provisions ...it is possible to offer even severely handicapped children a satisfactory education in an ordinary school." She considers, however, that "for certain children special schools may always be needed, but as the provision of special educational treatment within ordinary schools increases, this need is likely to be smaller than at present." Along with many others and the "Babbidge Report"(Babbidge, 1965), she also suggests three main functions for the special schools:

> The first is that they should be used increasingly as observation and assessment centres. Secondly they should provide children (from as early an age as possible) with an initial period of skilled and intensive training by teachers and therapists working together..... After this period, which might for some children last from one to four years, many children would be ready for transfer to a special or ordinary class. Ideally the special school would be sited close to an ordinary school so that for at least part of the time handicapped and non-handicapped children could be taught

in mixed groups. Thirdly, special schools could act as advisory centres from which... experienced teachers and therapists could travel as consultants to teachers in special and ordinary classes who need help.[5]

At present, the large majority of hearing impaired children "track" for the whole of their school careers in one type of school, unless they fail to integrate in adolescence in which case they often transfer at this time to a residential or day special school. Movement between different types of schools and programs is often impossible so that as their needs change students may find that an appropriate environment has become inappropriate. There is no need for a well-adjusted deaf child who is living in a large urban area with an intact family to attend a residential school. There is a need for the student and his/her family to be integrated into the deaf community, and there is a need in such areas for special facilities of a residential type to meet the needs of small groups such as deaf/blind children, behaviorally disturbed deaf children, or other multi-handicapped and very severely intellectually subnormal deaf children. Whatever type of facility we are talking about, more thought and planning has to be given to what some might regard as the non-educational aspects of the program, but which are really the basis of all education. Schools of

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[5]In this context an important aspect of consultation would involve the support and development of deaf culture and its dissemination to both deaf and hearing students. The central facility would also be responsible for developing and maintaining links with parents and the adult deaf community.

all types frequently negate their educational aims by failing to attend to the psychological principles of good child-rearing, social development and the processes of group interaction. Ten-bed dormitories and untrained house parents have no place in modern educational institutions, but both still exist. Failure to provide good programs of social development, including sex and drug education, is even more regrettable.

Integration will not occur simply because of proximity, and to ignore the problems of the handicapped child in coping with his or her handicap is to ignore all that we have learned about attitudes and the need to "educate" communities if "good" attitudes are to be developed. Deaf students can have a special advantage over other handicapped groups - membership of the deaf community. I do not believe we should deny them membership of that community. However, even if I am wrong, current mainstreaming practices are doing little, if anything, to remedy the real deficiencies in the education of deaf students. Can we afford to further delay facing up to the realities of the shockingly low academic achievement and poor self image of deaf students? In our anxiety to be "fashionable", we are doing great disservice to deaf students and their parents and rejecting the deaf community as a whole. We are not facing up to the epidemic of emotional/behavioral problems documented by Schein (1981). We are proffering an administrative solution with no real base in training, clinical practice and educational programming.

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Michael Rodda

Professor of Educational Psychology, University of Alberta, Canada. Fellow of the British Psychological Society and graduate of the University of Durham, England. Presently engaged in developing a programme of deafness studies at the University of Alberta. Previously Head of the Psychology Department, Mount Allison University, Director of Social Research, U.K. Department of Health and Social Security, Associate Professor of Special Education, University of Cincinnati, and Lecturer at the Universities of Manchester and Canterbury, New Zealand. Specializes in social and linguistic research into deafness. Major studies include work on language disorders, communication, social adjustment and counselling. Author of three books and a large number of monographs, reports and papers. Has been Visiting Scientist at New York University and Visiting Fellow at Massey University, New Zealand. Married with three teenage children.

INTEGRATED EDUCATION:

A PARADOX FOR THE DEAF

by Roger J. Carver

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INTEGRATED EDUCATION: A PARADOX FOR THE DEAF

Deafness is an unique disability; the deaf on the surface do not possess such physical or mental characteristics that distinguish them from others. In fact, they are equally intelligent and able-bodied with the rest of the society. The only difference is that they do not hear. However, this blessing of physical and intelluctual ability can be a curse for the deaf, since the hearing could be misled into believing that it would be a simple matter for the deaf to become "normal" simply by giving them hearing aids, speech therapy, and mainstreamed education.

According to the U.S. deaf census data, one in a thousand are prelingually deaf.[1] This figure, if extrapolated to the Canadian population, would mean that there are 25,000 such persons in Canada, not including the many thousands more who became deaf between the ages of three and eighteen nor the two million who are hearing impaired. The large majority of deaf Canadians suffer from negative psycho-social and socio-economic effects, and the sad part is that these are the result not of deafness per se, but of misguided attitudes and a lack of understanding on the part of the hearing.

A vast proportion of deaf children receive a far more inadequate education than their hearing peers, despite guarantees of equal education for all as enacted through various provincial legislations. This is mostly because of insufficient linguistic development[2] essential to the learning process. In the United States, it has been estimated that at least 30% of all deaf students were functionally illiterate and 60% complate their education at the average level of Grade 5.3 or less.[3] Furthermore, only 5% ever make it past Grade 10. While these are U.S. statistics, it is believed the situation is the same in Canada, if not worse.[4] This is a scandalous state of affairs, and it has far-reaching consequences for the deaf in Canada, since the education they receive determines their lifelong status; most are caught in an economic ghetto, mostly in low-level employment or on social assistance. To compound their

problems, the prevalence of mental health problems among them is higher than the rest of the population. Serious emotional problems are three to six times as common among deaf children than among hearing children.[5] Most of these woes may be traced back to repeated attempts at "normalization" of the deaf.

The buzzword used in the area of deafness by "experts" is "normalization". There are some success stories, but they are unusual, being attributed to a fortuitous combination of crucial factors such as parental dedication, inner drive of the child, excellent teachers, and so on. In reality, chances of success through "normalization" are very low. Such "success stories" are often given publicity despite their paucity, giving rise to false hopes and unrealistic expectations in many parents. Those who could or would not be "normalized" are considered "failures" which can be devastating to the self-concept of the deaf child.

What is the impetus behind "normalization"? It arises mostly from a lack of understanding of deafness and the inability to accept the "differentness" of being deaf. "Normalization" of the deaf usually involves oral communication and integration in schools. It is akin to attempts by white colonists in imposing their own cultural and educational values on the "natives". Such attempts have proven time and time again to be dismal failures, simply because the colonists did not understand the needs and ways of the natives.[6] The same is true for many "experts" working in the area of deafness. The real tragedy of this normalization process is that deaf children actually exhibit more abnormal characteristics than those who had been exposed to sign language and other deaf persons![7] The following statement by a Swedish educator says it well:

> "We want them to enjoy life and ultimately find themselves a place in society where they can make use out of their endowments and have feelings of worth as <u>deaf</u> persons. Because they will never become hearing, we must not force them into the role of being 'failed hearing persons'...To attain a harmonious personality development, we are convinced that deaf children need a normal childhood that is

not plagued by 'training'. In addition, they need attachment to equals - dear children and adults - to realize that they are not deviants nor are they the only one of their kind."[8]

True normalization could occur if stumbling blocks and artificial barriers were removed. This leads to the concept of least restricted environment; this concept was advanced by proponents of mainstreaming to facilitate the integration of exceptional children into regular schools. The basic premise behind this concept is given as:

> "Educational service delivery models used for severely handicapped students must closely approximate the best available educational service delivery models used for non-handicapped students...We should assume that it is better for severely handicapped students...to be treated as non-handicapped students as much as possible than to deliver specialized educational services which could increase discrepancies between the handicapped and non-handicapped."[9]

This premise was undoubtedly aimed at the disabled children who could function in a hearing environment. Unfortunately, the deaf children were victimized by a common tendency to "lump" them with other disabled groups; the deaf have completely different needs which are, by the way, highly visual. I agree with the above premise, nevertheless, since it could be interpreted both ways; I submit that the best "least restricted environment" for the deaf can be found in schools for the deaf, as they provide an atmosphere in which deaf children have a better chance of becoming "normal". In a good school such as Alberta School for the Deaf, they daily encounter deaf teachers and professionals who serve as excellent role models; they have complete freedom to explore relationships by communicating in their own way with others; they develop normal interpersonal skills; they do not feel "different"; they have opportunity to become leaders in their own right, and so on. In other words, such schools, rather than providing a segregated education, provide an alternative education parallel to the one provided hearing students. In short, schools for the deaf should be considered as regular schools modelled after schools for the hearing in order to meet the requirements for the least re-

stricted environment. Deaf students who are placed in hearing schools are automatically placed in an environment that is generally inhospitable to their needs. Deaf students in regular schools tend to be isolated with far fewer opportunities for self-actualization, and many become socially and emotionally maladjusted. It is interesting to notice that many deaf students require interpreters in regular schools; according to the above premise, the interpreter would fit into the category of "specialized educational services which would increase the discrepancy" between the deaf student and his hearing peers, not to mention creating a dependent adaption in the deaf student. I rest my case as to which school provides the true "least restricted environment" for deaf children.

However, it must be pointed out that many schools for the deaf are not without their warts as far as educational standards are concerned. Nevertheless, such shortcomings are not directly the result of providing a "segregated" education. Rather, they result from paternalism, poor administration, diluted or lowered priorities by provincial governments, inadequate professional preparation, and so on. It is interesting to note that not one school for the deaf in Canada employs deaf administrators, in sharp contrast to many schools in the United States which do. Also, many of these schools refuse to hire more deaf teachers, despite their positive impact on deaf students.[10] These shortcomings could be corrected only if the deaf community is given a greater role at the administrative and policy-making levels, as a deaf person in Vancouver aptly put it: "deaf adults climbed out of the pitfalls of poorly arranged educational policies. They know what is needed and what to avoid."[11]

All in all, the deaf are not opposed to integration per se, but, rather, to the vehicle created by the hearing (e.g. mainstreaming in schools) without prior consultation. The deaf are tired of hearing, "But you have to learn how to live in the hearing world!" They all know that; they live in it! They work side-by-side with hearing persons; they have hearing friends, neighbors, child-

ren, and relatives, they do business with hearing persons, and so on ad infinitum. The deaf integrate on their own without being told to do so; they don't need to have mainstreaming in schools shoved down their throats just to "show" them how to live in the hearing world. We submit that a paradox exists in that more graduates of schools for the deaf are more successful in interfacing with the hearing than their mainstreamed counterparts. It all boils down to self-confidence which is more easily acquired in schools for the deaf than in hearing schools.

Considering the above points, it is useful to keep in mind the following:

> "Deaf persons must learn to cope and compensate in a world that is 'different' for them. Thus, as they run the race of life, they could well run it via a different course. Our task is to eliminate hurdles, not create them."[12]

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← Many educators are actually creating hurdles for the deaf by having them mainstreamed into regular schools. These educators get so hung up on the methodology that they lose sight of the end product.

Deaf communities across Canada should take measures to ensure that deaf children are receiving the optimal education as guaranteed by provincial legislation either through legal or political action which would challenge educational authorities to show that they are indeed adhering to such laws.

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[2] It must be stresed here that this pertains primarily to spoken English or French. Research in recent years strongly suggest that deaf children exposed to sign language from a very early age tend to develop linguistically at a rate roughly par to that of their hearing peers and that their educational achievement level was on the average superior to that of deaf children who were not exposed to sign language.

[3] Vernon, McKay The Failure of Education of the Deaf, Illinois Advance, 1968, 101, 1-4.

[4] While there has been no comprehensive national survey in Canada to verify this similiarity, the Aberta Survey of the Hearing Impaired which the author conducted in 1981-83 tends to confirm this similarity, at least for Alberta, which is an acknowledged leader in education of the deaf in Canada. This should say something about the quality of education of the deaf in other provinces as far as Dr. Vernon's figures are concerned.

[5] Meadow, K & Trybus, R. Behavioral and Emotional Problems of Deaf Children: An Overview. In Hearing and Hearing Impairment, (New York, Grune & Stratton, 1979)

[6] For an excellent discussion of this concept, see Pedagogy of the Oppressed by Paolo Freire (Herder & Herder, New York, 1972.)

[7] Again, studies have shown that deaf children who have not been exposed to sign language tend to show a higher degree of emotional/behavioral disturbance Refer to Sign and Sound: Approaches to Mental Health and Deafness by K. Meadow and H. Schlesinger (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1972) for a more detailed analysis.

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